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MR. HARDING'S praise of Bolivar—a great American who has not yet received his due at the hands of our North American historians—will, of course, fall gratefully upon South American ears. But what our Latin neighbors ask of us is deeds not words. The ratification of the Columbian Treaty and the payment of the long overdue indemnity to that injured country will help a great deal to reestablish our reputation to the south of us. So will also help our friendly and successful arbitration in the election difficulties of Cuba. But fear of the Northern peril will prevail just as long as we occupy Haiti and Santo Domingo contrary to the wishes of their peoples and in contradiction to all our pretenses as to self-determination and the rights of small nations; just as long as we threaten Mexico and dictate our will to Nicaragua and Costa Rica and take the tone in our diplomatic notes which Mr. Hughes has assumed toward Panama and its next-door neighbor.

WHILE the eyes of the United States have been turned eastward toward Europe, or westward toward Japan, or at least no further southward than Mexico, a new nation has casually sauntered into existence in other parts. The ratification by Guatemala of the pact for the formation of the Federation of Central America constitutes the third acceptance of the agreement, and thus the number necessary to make it binding, Honduras and Salvador having previously voted for the union. If Costa Rica and Nicaragua join later, as is hoped, the new nation will have more than 5,000,000 inhabitants. In its form of executive government the Federation of Central America is to have neither the responsible ministry of Europe nor the presidential system of the United States, which latter has been generally adopted, with modifications, in South America. Instead, the new union is to have what in our cities is called the commission form of government. Executive authority will rest in a Federal Council, one member from each state, elected for five years. One of them, it is true, will be chosen by the Council as President, but he will serve only one year and will act merely as a chairman. We welcome the Federation of Central America. It is a happy sign of increasing friendship and solidarity in a region that has been too long torn with jealousy and dissension.

STILL further ramifications are added to the net of intrigue and absurdity in which the Allies are enmeshed by a secret treaty which, according to a dispatch to the New York *Times*, was concluded in March between Italy and the Turkish Nationalists. Italy—although publicly bound, along with the other Allies, to carry out the Treaty of Sèvres, for the fructification of which Greece is fighting the armies of Mustapha Kemal—has privately agreed to defeat the ends for which Greece has hopefully gone to war in Anatolia. The agreement was arranged at the recent London conference and, as reported, provides for the withdrawal of all Italian troops from Ottoman territory and a pledge by Italy to support in her relations with the Allies "all demands of the Turkish delegation relative to the peace treaty, and especially restitution to Turkey of Smyrna and Thrace." The *quid pro quo* is a series of economic concessions to Italy in Asia Minor. This action of Italy, taken in connection with the withdrawal of French troops from Cilicia, shows how completely Greece has been betrayed by the Allies and how outrageous it is that her young men should be laying down their lives in the name of "patriotism" in a hopeless fight for an absurd "cause." That word "patriotism" ought to be stripped of most of its humbug by now for anybody who can read—and understand—the news. According to the dispatch to the *Times*, the Turks are even using Italian munitions in their operations against the Greeks!

SWITZERLAND is learning from France how uncompromising a big nation can be. France has announced to Switzerland her intention of denouncing the treaty conventions which for a century have given the Swiss canton of Geneva special customs rights in adjacent French territory. The history of these zones, which goes back to Napoleonic days, was recounted by Mr. Robert Dell in *The Nation* for February 9. The most essential of them depend upon the treaty imposed by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia upon defeated France in 1815. France today contends that the great Powers which made the "zones" in 1815 could unmake them, without consultation of Switzer-

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land, in 1919; and the Treaty of Versailles indeed states that the old conventions are recognized as "no longer consistent with present conditions," leaving a settlement in detail to France and Switzerland. Those two nations have been unable to reach an agreement; Switzerland has suggested arbitration, but France refuses, and cynically announces her intention of carrying out her desires whether Switzerland acquiesces or not. One of the big Powers which signed the treaty of 1815 was absent at Versailles in 1919; Russia has given no consent to the implied abrogation which the other great Powers signed in 1919. It is a beautiful opportunity for Lenin and Chicherin to write a protest note defending the rights of small nations—and there are no subtler masters of diplomatic irony than they.

SCHOOL boards in various cities of the country seem to be trying to outdo each other in obscurantism. Buffalo has been considerably stirred by the disciplining of six teachers because of real or alleged connection with the publication of a pamphlet on the city's education last summer; the *Courier* has come out on the side of the teachers. In Los Angeles the Board of Education has excluded *The Nation* and the *New Republic* from the school libraries in spite of a protest of teachers. This has been partially responsible for the teachers' decision to back a ticket of their own for the next Board of Education—we trust they will succeed. Some weeks ago the Board of Education of New York City decided that the Community Forum, conducted by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, could no longer meet in a public-school building. More recently it decreed that Dr. Holmes be not allowed to address the Brooklyn Civic Forum, which meets in a school building. We are glad to note that the Rev. John Howard Melish, who took Dr. Holmes's place, occupied part of his time in defending the latter and censuring those who had excluded him. Dr. Holmes's crime is well known: he is one of the pitifully few clergymen who, having talked against war for years, proved his sincerity by refusing to get behind the band in 1917 and whoop it up for blood and buncombe. He was to have spoken on "The Collapse of Civilization; Can it Be Saved?" Perhaps the members of the Board of Education think it doesn't matter whether civilization be saved or not. We would share that opinion if we thought its future was in their hands.

LACK of team-work in Washington has an indecorous way of holding the Federal Government up to ridicule now and then. On the heels of much exaggerated propaganda in regard to the "alien menace," and while Congress is in the midst of legislation to restrict immigration, the Census Bureau runs amuck by announcing that the foreign-born population of the United States increased only 358,442, or 2.6 per cent, in the last ten years! The total number of foreign-born in 1920 is placed at 13,703,987. Such statistics are surprising when one considers that the foreign-born population increased three million between 1900 and 1910. It is true that immigration was slight during the last half of the decade 1910 to 1919, inclusive, but on the other hand it reached its peak during the first half. More than a million aliens entered the United States in each of the five years from 1910 to 1914, inclusive, the total amounting to more than six millions. The Census Bureau figures do not tally at all with those of the Bureau of Immigration. According to the records of the latter, 3,748,030 more aliens arrived in this country from 1910 to 1919, inclusive, than departed from it; but the statistics of departing aliens are notoriously defective, compiled, as they are, from the imperfect and unsystematic returns of steamship companies. The Census Bureau's figures, if correct, render the "alien menace" about as important as a five-cent cake of ice at the portals of Hades.

HOW independent is our press? The New York newspapers at least, are we not often told, great metropolitan journals that they are, have freed themselves from advertising control—say what you will of their feebler and more venal contemporaries in Philadelphia, Boston, or Pittsburgh. Yet in the New York morning papers of April 21 appears a "story"—of two fashionably dressed people, who had posed as "society persons" and lived in style at the Hotel Vanderbilt, convicted of shoplifting and sentenced to the penitentiary. The *Times* alone gives the name of the store which had been pilfered—James McCreery & Company. The *Herald* refers to it as "a Fifth Avenue store." The *American* calls it a "Thirty-fourth street department store." The *World* merely alludes to "a department store." The *Tribune* avoids the predicament which embarrasses three of its competitors by omitting the item entirely. It is interesting to note that all of the stories unhesitatingly feature the Hotel Vanderbilt. The Vanderbilt does not advertise in the newspapers.

A HOPEFUL aspect of the revelations of peonage in Georgia, and of cruelty and violence to Negroes in connection with it, appears in the desire manifested to search out and stop further horrors. Both State and Federal officers seem to be in earnest in this, and some notable public meetings testify to an at last aroused public opinion. Governor Dorsey has announced that he will demand the persecution of all persons guilty of mob violence or other crimes toward Negroes and will do all in his power "to bring the real situation in Georgia before its citizens." At the same time the United States Department of Justice is said to be ready to send fifty agents to the State, if necessary. This is far better than the Palmer method of employing them in the generally needless and frequently illegal hounding of so-called radicals. Meanwhile, there are additional horrifying revelations as to murders and lynchings of Negro peons and as to the extent of the peonage.

THE North Dakota bond issue offered directly to the people of the United States after the refusal of the bankers to touch it, affords every citizen an opportunity for service. The sale of these bonds is necessary to carry on the Nonpartisans' program which is a substitute for and a challenge to the exploitation of producer and consumer that has wrought such havoc with the agricultural life of our nation. The vicious assaults on the North Dakotans, the misrepresentation of their policies, and finally the boycott of their bond issue, duly authorized by the State's constituted authorities and legalized by the United States Supreme Court, are conclusive evidence that the forces of special privilege feel themselves imperiled. The Nonpartisan movement is an evolutionary development born of necessity, bred of common-sense, and dedicated to the thoroughly American ideal that all men are entitled to an equal opportunity and a square deal. Neither the farmer nor the consumer have been getting the latter. Consequently all those who prefer progress to standpatism or retrogression, cannot better apply their energies than in backing up the North Dakotans in this stressful hour. As an investment the bonds are excellent.

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RENTS may be limited and controlled by law anywhere in the United States, when the legislative power considers that the welfare of the community is menaced, in consequence of the decision of the United States Supreme Court affirming legislation of that character in New York and the District of Columbia. The decision was written by Justice Holmes, with Justices Brandeis, Clarke, Day, and Pitney concurring, and the other four dissenting. Justice Holmes upheld the right to regulate rents, as it had previously been affirmed by the highest tribunal of New York, as a legitimate exercise of the police power, calling attention to the fact that the possible return on property had already been limited by regulating the height of buildings. Justice McKenna, expressing the view of the minority, was concerned over the other possibilities opened up by the decision. "Houses are a necessity of life," he wrote, "but other things are as necessary. May they, too, be taken from the direction of their owners and disposed of by the government?" To this we reply, without dismay, Yes. We appreciate the dangers of legislative and executive tyranny in this direction, but we are even more mindful of the crushing and appalling power of property, as developed in America, to blight the life of humanity. We hold that property must be restored to its earlier conception as a convenience to the community, capable of change as the latter directs; we cannot justify it as an institution of fixed status, or one to be used by the few to support their privileges against the interests of the many. Modern property rights must be susceptible of modification unless we want violent revolution, on the one hand, or hopeless discontent and unrest on the other.

WITH fanatic fingers delicately gloved and with firm words thickly buttered the Christian Scientists have achieved another of those suppressions of free discussion which have helped and are still helping the progress of that sensitive sect. This time it is a volume of "The Cambridge History of American Literature" which has hurt their feelings, and the particular item of offense is a section dealing with "Science and Health" by Professor Woodbridge Riley of Vassar, who in spirited language has indicated the manifold plagiarisms which went into the making of Mrs. Eddy's "revelation." The apparent grounds of complaint are that Professor Riley's language lacks respect for the prophetess and her followers, and it is true that he has written with a full sense of the comic aspects which have attended the rise of her cult. But, presumably, the fault which makes the chapter seem most dangerous to "Scientists" is the sharp analysis which traces the doctrine of Mrs. Eddy to certain constituent elements she is convincingly shown to have derived from the Shakers, from the magnetic healer Quimby, and from that "tedious archangel" of transcendentalism Bronson Alcott. Was it not once thought blasphemy for the "higher criticism" to investigate the Babylonian or Egyptian analogues of Old Testament myths and to look among the pagan Greeks for New Testament ideas? Intellectually, the Christian Scientists occupy the position of those dutiful believers who in the past century tried to pack Christianity in cotton and keep it from the air and the sun. The intellectual methods of Christian Science, however, are, of course, unimportant in comparison with its strategical devices. And none of these needs so much to be called to public attention as that of the pious espionage which the sect exercises over all public references to it and the insidious pressure which it exerts upon publishers to compel them to touch "Science" only in the accents of compliment or at least of considerate euphemism. In this respect Christian Science aligns itself with the other compact minorities—the Mormons are also protesting against the "Cambridge History"—armed with some kind or assumption of vested interest, which contrive to muffle any dissent from the notions which they happen to favor.

WITHOUT ceremony and with no apparent recourse to the university publicity department, organized in recent years, Harvard has quietly reopened to the public its Germanic Museum. An inconspicuous notice in Boston newspapers announced that the Museum would henceforth be open Wednesdays and Saturdays. Verily, *tempus fugit*. How recently was not every superpatriot in Boston and the Cambridge hinterland convinced that the Germanic Museum was conceived solely in the iniquity of pro-German propaganda? Was it not even whispered that the foundations of the museum were of solid concrete, ten feet thick, obviously a potential base for Hun howitzers? Yet now, with the exception only of Professor Arthur Kampf's original portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm II, which has probably been relegated to a cellar, all of the former exhibits appear to be intact, untarnished by the fiery breath of 100 per cent Americanism, unscathed at the hands of American Legionaries or of the Department of Justice. In fact, the considerable crowd of placid New Englanders which has visited the museum appears to bear no animosity whatever toward the Mater Dolorosa of Nuremberg or the Christ Crucified of Wechselburg. The quiet peacefulness with which our Cantabrigian culture has rewelcomed Kultur would indicate the return of an era of good-will and sanity, at least so far as art is concerned. It is not too much to hope that one of these days even Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, historian emeritus, will be able to contemplate the statue of the Great Elector without frothing at the mouth.

THE news that John, son of Ephraim, son of Zitho of the tribe of Demitro, by his illness in Detroit endangers the succession of a dynastic house among the American gypsies, brings to mind a hundred old tales of those fascinating nomads whom we call gypsies because our ancestors thought them to be Egyptians—tales of horse-jockeying and baby-stealing, swarthy ruffians and impeccable maidens, uncanny foresight and exotic craftiness. All these are folk-tales, and perhaps the gossip concerning chieftains and kings among the Romany tribes is of the same casual foundation. But the essential fact about the gypsies still remains, and remains exciting: that for half a thousand years they have preserved nomadic habits among the civilized nations of the world, without any fatal contamination from the cultures of the "settlements." What a wealth of romance inheres in the very idea we know from the romances of George Borrow. Some analogous romancer who shall follow the gypsies through the enormous ranges of the American continent has an opportunity greater than Borrow ever dreamed of. Nor is it merely romance that strikes us in this connection. Have the gypsies not solved the problem of house and land and constricting statutes as no other race has done? What stubborn, powerful instinct in this tribe of men has kept them in their migratory state while the rest of the world has settled down somewhere?

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Our Aggressive Foreign Policy

MR. HARDING himself may be infirm of purpose and without a constructive program, but there is no doubt of the determination of his Secretary of State and of his party to institute an aggressive foreign policy. This has so struck the Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* that he is led to sound an alarm against the bellicose tendencies of the present Government. Is it preparing for war? he asks. Well, he should know, like everybody else, that nothing less than vigor was to be expected of Mr. Hughes and that the historic policy of the Republican Party is to show, or to use, the mailed fist when it comes to foreign affairs. The party is essentially imperialistic, and if it had not been it must be so now by reason of the big business forces that dominate it. If, on the other hand, it be rejoined that the Democratic Party has also been extremely imperialistic, notably in the Caribbean, we reply, Of course. Have we not been saying for a long time past that there is no essential difference between the two parties? Wilson Democrats are making much of the fact that at several points, notably Yap, and the cable question, the Republicans are paying Mr. Wilson the compliment of following in his footsteps albeit more vigorously, while the absence of any positive declaration thus far on our wrongdoing in Santo Domingo and Haiti is similarly suggestive. Well, what really thoughtful student of political affairs expected anything else?

It is true, however, that the Republicans are going to the mat with a good deal more vim and aggressiveness than distinguished the State Department in Mr. Wilson's time. Also, the saber is being rattled vigorously, probably for several purposes. It may be in order to impress the Japanese; it may be because of Mr. Harding's avowed belief that we cannot bring about universal disarmament until we have a lot to disarm and have impressed everybody with what a dangerous character we are. So it is announced that we are to concentrate the entire fleet in the Pacific; that we are to push forward the great naval base at Hawaii; that General Pershing is immediately to organize a skeleton war staff similar to that he headed in France, "to be instantly prepared for active military operations in time of war"—something hitherto supposed to have been the function of the General Staff. Also immediate and extensive development of the aeronautical services is to have the favorable attention of Congress, the dispatches report. Mr. Harding himself has added fuel to the flames. Not only is he especially interested in immediate strengthening of the Panama defenses, but in his inaugural address he gave considerable space to what would take place in our next war and threatened that everyone would have to take part in the conflict, without any exceptions, apparently, even for Quakers. Then he went out of his way to announce at the unveiling of the Bolivar statue that we should uphold the Monroe Doctrine to the extent of cheerfully fighting for it whenever necessary. No wonder that Washington correspondents are beginning to ask what it all means.

In our relations both with our Allies and with Germany Mr. Hughes's natural vigor of expression is making itself felt. We have told England in plain and unvarnished terms where she stands in the matter of her oil claims in Costa Rica, and we have about reached a deadlock with Japan over the question of Yap—the most miserable little island in mid-ocean that ever brought about an *impasse* between two great nations. It is currently reported that Mr. Hughes will shortly take up the matter of Shantung and serve notice on Japan that she has got to fix the date for her withdrawal from that raped province and that she must do it quickly. Her conduct in Siberia, too, is to come under our review. The rest of our Allies have been clearly informed that though we are not a party to the Versailles treaty we propose to have every one of our rights under that treaty, not a jot nor a tittle less, and that there we shall take our vigorous stand. As for the Germans, we have twice lately rapped them over the knuckles, the second time in declining to arbitrate for them while also making the useful and wise suggestion that they and the Allies get together once more to negotiate the question of the indemnity. We have peremptorily served notice on Panama and Costa Rica that they will not be allowed to fight, no matter what they may wish to do, and we have laid down the law to Panama itself, again in no uncertain terms. If the Republicans go on this way they may certainly "point with pride" at their next national convention to the manner in which they have walked softly and wielded the Big Stick.

Whether they thus serve best the world, the poor, disorganized world, is another question. Certainly, he must be blind who does not perceive that our relations with Japan grow steadily worse. Not only have we challenged the whole system of mandates, which mean so much to Japan in connection with her part of the spoils of Versailles—and thereby also raised the question of the value of the secret treaties of 1917 under which our other Allies guaranteed certain spoils to Japan—but we are adding steadily to the unrest in that country in its relations to us. The organization last week of a group of Representatives and Senators of seven Western States under the leadership of a liberal gone wrong in this instance—Senator Johnson of California—to bring about complete exclusion of Japanese from America, will again react most unfavorably in the Island Kingdom, where it will be received as further proof of the dislike and hostility of the American people. Last week saw also the revival of the regularly recurring sensational stories as to the menacing program for naval construction upon which Japan is secretly working. Only the other day someone originated the story that Japan was obtaining a tremendous air fleet from England, and so it goes. If there is anything lacking in the old familiar game of setting one nation at another's throat, it is not visible in this instance. We are heading for trouble just as surely as were the British and the Germans when, about 1900, there began the press campaigns in both countries with the object of proving in each country that the other was menacing its trade and its future.

But it is this aggressive foreign policy that the American people voted for, whether consciously or unconsciously, last November. That it should give way to a spirit of friendship and conciliation without the rattling of the saber, in accordance with an enlightened, humane, and broadminded program to bring about reconciliation in the world, immediate disarmament, and a rational reconstruction along the lines of a true association of nations and the Hague Tribunal, goes without saying. But this can plainly come to pass only if public opinion promptly makes itself felt in Washington.

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The German Crisis

THE new German terms, although not wholly outlined at this writing, prove conclusively the correctness of the position taken by those like ourselves who censured the abrupt breaking off of the Allied negotiations with Germany early in March. Then the bargainers were much nearer together than anybody realized. Today, if the forecasts are correct, Germany is offering 200 billion marks over a period not to exceed forty-two years in addition to the 21 billions which she claims to have paid already, or within five billions of marks of the amount demanded at the Paris Conference last January. In other words the Allies and their former foe are now so close together in the game of bluff which both have been playing that a failure to reach an understanding would seem incredible. Certainly if after such an offer the French continue to press for the immediate occupation of the Ruhr the world will have the right to believe that there is an ulterior motive at work, that it is annexation and the destruction of German industry upon which French passion is bent.

This is not to say that the Germans have behaved well in the negotiations or that they have been other than extremely trying. They were warranted, of course, in fencing for the easiest terms possible at London; they had the right to assume that the Allies were probably asking for more than they would take. Yet it would surely have been the wiser course had they offered their uttermost then and there—from now on every proposal they make will be subject to the suspicion that, despite their protests, it is only a trial balloon. It was not a time for jockeying, but once more they failed in strategy as well as in tactics. Our London advices are to the effect that the old German inability to enter into the psychology of other peoples, or to present their case well, or to put the best foot forward was as much in evidence at the London conference as heretofore. They have not yet learned how to win the good will of the world, in this case to be earned only by completest frankness and straightforwardness. They neglected, for instance, the opportunity to present effectively, as they have since, through the words of Dr. Simons, their readiness to do the honorable thing about the reconstruction of France—without which they cannot hope to regain the favorable opinion of mankind. Men like Dr. Simons realize this, but they have failed to make it clear until now. The Germans ought also to have realized more clearly how desperate is the financial condition of France and how profound her need.

But that is for the moment past. At this hour it appears as if the reparations issue, the failure to settle which has kept all Europe in turmoil for two years, were finally on the verge of settlement. It is true, of course, that at the last moment an excited and intemperate French public opinion may yet dictate the occupation of the Ruhr, in defiance of the real wishes of Great Britain and Italy. But it is hard to see how this can be done, particularly in view of the attitude of the Harding Administration. Thus far, we are happy to record our view, Mr. Hughes has handled the situation faultlessly. He has refused to umpire, yet left the door open to our acting as mediator, and there is no indication that he has walked into M. Briand's trap by which the United States would become responsible for the fulfilment of German obligations. There is no doubt that our State Department is today in the best position possible to bring correct pressure to bear upon the Allies to wind the matter up and to prevent the proposed French action which the *Manchester Guardian* has characterized as certain, if carried out, to bring about the complete ruin of economic Europe. We do not believe that Mr. Hughes has entered upon the course he has without a careful consideration of whither it might lead him and a weighing of the consequences. We believe that he is prepared to see it through, and if he does, and prevents the Allies from making the incalculable mistake of advancing further into Germany, he will have achieved at the outset of his Secretaryship a most brilliant diplomatic success, certain to redound to his credit as it will confer vast benefit upon the whole world which cannot settle down until the economic fetters of the Central Powers are struck off and a reconstruction program is clearly outlined. For ourselves, we welcome with unqualified satisfaction the appearance of the United States as a friendly mediator, the role for which we are best fitted.

As for the terms, no one disagrees with the principle that Germany must pay all she possibly can without economically enslaving her people or depriving them of the conditions necessary to adequate livelihood. The whole issue has been of agreeing upon the utmost possible amount of reparation. To liberals everywhere it has seemed as if the way to obtain this was to negotiate fairly and in a friendly spirit with the Germans and that the French attitude of military threats in the spirit of revenge and hostility was precisely the wrong way to go about it. Reason alone will count. Proof of this is the lesser stress laid by the Germans on their impossible proposal of assuming the Allied indebtedness to the United States and their willingness to pledge their customs revenues as guaranties. Their renewal of their offer to reconstruct at once the devastated districts of France by German labor and materials, either through the Government directly or through specially constituted associations of business men and workingmen, will compel the French either to accept or definitely decline proposals to which they have hitherto declined to give a yes or no answer. It is a striking fact that although Germany at first protested violently against the possibility of indefinite terms she is herself suggesting making the annual reparation payments flexible in accordance with the recovery of German industries. It is also reported that it is proposed to spread the payments over a period of between thirty and forty-two years. An interesting new development is the suggestion of an international loan so that the Entente and France in particular may receive immediate cash. Finally, the dispatches suggest additional pledges of good faith in the way of participation in German industrial enterprises, while the proposed and unworkable export tax of 12 per cent is not mentioned.

These are not easy terms and time alone will show whether they can be carried out. But we have such faith in the already demonstrated capacity of all the belligerent nations to recover from the effects of the war much more quickly than had been anticipated as to believe that this will hold true of Germany as well. At any rate, if by the time this *Nation* is in the hands of its readers a definite settlement appears nearby, there will be greater cause for rejoicing than has appeared since the needless and fruitless slaughter of millions came to an end on Armistice Day.

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No War With England

III. Merchant Marine Problems

NO Englishman, realizing the dependence of his country on overseas commerce, looks with equanimity on a challenge to England's merchant marine from any source. In the event of war, any nation owning the ships in which British trade is carried would be in a position to cut off her supplies. But in time of peace the ships are necessary also. Ideally, of course, it ought not to make any difference who owns the ships as long as there are enough; but practically it makes an enormous difference. There are so many affiliations between shipping concerns and others having to do with trade, such as bankers, concessionnaires, sellers of coal and oil, insurance companies, exporters and importers, that a nation which needs a far-flung commerce normally develops control of a large part of ocean shipping also. The two things are interdependent. Great Britain, as the largest foreign trader, has become "mistress of the seas" and as "mistress of the seas" she has become the largest foreign trader.

In addition, there is the solid consideration that the money paid for freights in British ships balances a large part of her "unfavorable" excess of imports over exports. Without this income, the United Kingdom would have to become more nearly self-sustaining, to the tune of about three-quarters of a billion dollars a year. It is a curious and significant fact that Great Britain has nearly always made war upon nations which threatened her supremacy of the sea—Spain, France, the Netherlands, the United States in 1812, Germany in 1914. Other issues have been involved, but this one was present in each case. At only one period has any nation seriously challenged the British merchant marine without becoming involved in war. During the middle years of the last century the United States did so; and Great Britain regained her supremacy not by warfare but by the normal course of industrial and commercial development—in which the supplanting of the sailing vessel by the steamship was a prime factor. England has been the greatest developer of all the possibilities of the tramp steamer.

In June, 1914, the gross tonnage of Britain's ocean-going vessels, excluding that of the Dominions and colonies, was 18,892,000. Germany, second in rank, owned 5,099,000, and the United States, excluding the tonnage on the Great Lakes, 1,912,000. Then came the war and the submarine campaign. Between June, 1914, and November, 1918, the British lost 9,031,000 tons of ships. Subtracting from this the tonnage built, purchased, and captured by the United Kingdom, we find that there was a net loss of 3,443,000 tons. Building and purchase since the armistice has brought the British merchant marine back to pre-war strength, with 18,111,000 gross tons in June, 1920, while keels have been laid for additional British merchantmen aggregating many millions of tons.

The war eliminated Germany as a serious competitor. At the same time, however, the United States developed a merchant marine for ocean traffic of 12,406,000 tons, more than twice as large as Germany's in 1914, and two-thirds the size of Britain's. We have not only taken Germany's place on the sea, but are also chiefly responsible for a net addition to the total of the world's shipping of some 8,000,000 tons. Moreover, we have the physical ability to maintain and enhance the position we have acquired, since our shipyards have a larger capacity than those of any other nation, including Great Britain. During the fiscal year ending June, 1920, we built 3,880,000 tons, a total greater than the yearly production of the entire world before 1914; we added to our own ocean-going fleet in that year more than the entire tonnage in existence under any one foreign flag, except Britain's. Eighty-five per cent of our present sea-going tonnage consists of new and modern steamers. Of the oil-burning craft, comprising one-fifth of the world's total merchant tonnage, the United States now possesses much the larger proportion.

Although Great Britain has brought her merchant marine back to pre-war strength, she has nevertheless lost her relative position with regard to the total world's tonnage. If world commerce had grown proportionately with shipping, we should be the sole gainers in the carrying trade. If it were continuing to grow by leaps and bounds, Britain would have a chance to regain her former position by future building, and we should be spectators of a feverish race between American and British shipyards. This situation would be dangerous, but not unduly menacing. But because precisely the opposite has happened, the existing situation is one of the most critical and delicate imaginable.

World commerce has rapidly shrunk during the past few months, and there seems little likelihood of more than a slow increase for several years to come. In so far as our new surplus over former German tonnage is employed, it has invaded the territory held by British shipping before the war. And there are many more ships than there are cargoes. Freight rates have fallen until none but the strongest companies can operate their steamers without heavy loss. Hundreds of thousands of shipping tonnage are being tied up at our wharves. The moment enough freight appears so that rates can be raised, more vessels will be released for business and rates will fall again. The moment any sign arises that more ships will be required than are now built, idle shipyards eager for business will leap at the opportunity even though construction prices are low. The inevitable result is bitterly intensified competition, with all the special privileges and underhand practices which such competition cultivates.

There is a chance that the British companies will win this commercial battle so easily that our ships will not long cause them great concern. They have the tradition, the personnel, the training, the affiliations throughout the world, and the intimate knowledge of a business in which, more than in any other, expert handling of detail makes all the difference between success and failure. And, what is even more important, the book value of their ships has been written down to such figures that they can afford to charge much lower rates than the vessels which have been held by the United States Shipping Board at prices commensurate with the war-time cost of construction.

But other factors are likely to reduce this chance of the British. More than half our fleet is still owned by the Government because it cannot be sold at the prices asked. Such of these vessels as are being operated are in the hands of private companies, which, of course, cannot afford to bear the loss due to the high capital value. Therefore

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the Shipping Board, for the sake of keeping our flag on the seas, bears the loss and compensates the companies by an arrangement which takes little account of the profits of the ship. This amounts to a government subsidy applied for nationalistic purposes. The British shipping companies cannot afford in the long run to compete with the taxing power of the United States Government. Even if this particular arrangement is dropped, government aid in some form is sure to be invoked. The enormous amount of American capital and energy which has gone into shipbuilding and operation will not suffer its own extinction without a struggle. It is politically powerful. It wants discriminatory railroad rates on goods destined for shipment in American bottoms—these are already provided for in the Jones law; it wants discriminatory tolls in the Panama Canal; it will apply for subsidies or subventions, direct or indirect. Behind it will be mustered all the incalculable forces of nationalism and patriotism. The result may be a merchant marine maintained in part out of the public treasury as a national asset. Such a policy would certainly breed similar measures in Britain, and the brunt of the competitive struggle would then be transferred to the respective governments. How dangerous such a struggle is even in its least striking manifestations history tells—for those who will read.

Writes *Fairplay*, the great British shipping weekly: "A state-financed and manipulated marine could not but cause international friction of the acutest kind, for disputes which individuals can arrange without loss of dignity or prestige are incapable of such humble solution when official panoply is involved; and undue protection would mean deliberate retaliation." This is true no matter what form government support of the merchant marine should take. A nationally owned and operated marine would be the most dangerous of all—as long as the price and profit system exists—but any discriminatory measures or financial aid would lead to much the same result. And to these the new Republican Administration is committed. It promises discriminatory tolls in the Panama canal. President Harding said in his Inaugural: "We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy and *we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry.*" An Administration which indorses a protective tariff cannot logically deny protection to shipping.

"The great wars of the past," writes *Fairplay*, "were almost invariably due to territorial ambition; and today, not counting Germany, one nation at least might be forced by genuine land hunger to have recourse to the sword if facilities for expansion were refused her. But the pressure of overpopulation is accentuated by the fact that, with the possible exception of the United States, all the greater nations are compelled to look abroad for their supplies even of the necessaries of life. Accordingly anything calculated to check the free passage of merchandise is bound to give rise to feelings which, if not heeded, are sure to lead to thoughts of war, and it is for that reason that, in this country anyhow, grave distrust would be aroused were it to be found that our naval supremacy were being endangered in order that some competitor's perfectly normal commercial ambitions might be forwarded."

And this leads us to consideration of the navy, and of the fuel supply for both navy and merchant marine.*

*The next article will deal with the menace of the naval fleets; the one thereafter with the mad rush for oil as it affects the interests of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations.

The Roots of All Evil

[Special Cable to the New York *Tribune*]

LONDON, April 8.—A new theory to explain the phenomena of bolshevism was propounded at the London Medical Society dinner last night by Dr. E. H. Stancourt, the well-known physician, who said he was sure that Lenin and Trotzky were suffering from decayed teeth. "The only thing standing in the way of bolshevism in a country is good health," he added.

AT last! We have all along been sure that science would get right down to the root of things and tell us just why all the evils in the world should crop out in Russia, and now we have it. Stupid of us not to think of it! Have we not been reading of the marvelous cures in a New Jersey lunatic asylum accomplished by the use of the latest electric excavator, the sandpaper disk, and a few silver, gold, and cement fillings? Of *course;* teeth are the root of all medical evil, just as the appendix used to be a few years ago. Rheumatism, lumbago, sciatica, head-noises, neurasthenia, neuritis and chilblains—we all know that these are now demonstrably and pathologically attributable to the teeth, and mania, too. So certain are some medical men that our dental equipment is responsible for most of our mortal ills that we hear of those who advocate the removal of all adult teeth as soon as they have grown and the substitution of false ones. What a saving in time and money this means, how invaluable as a preventive of disease this practice, is obvious. To these we would add, as our contribution to the technology of dedentalizing, two other reasons: first, the available gold reserves of the world, so depleted by the war, will be largely conserved as soon as the necessity of gold teeth, gold fillings, and gold crowns disappears—all crowns are in the discard today. As silver is now a debased metal we need not dwell upon the saving there. When this news reaches Berlin, we are sure that half the German reluctance to give up the Reichsbank's gold will disappear. Second, many, many dentists will be released from lives spent in arresting decay for less gainful but more constructive pursuits.

How simple are the discoveries of the great! And how easy the application of a scientific truth once it is explained to us! We look soon for dispatches like this in the ever sober and veracious *Tribune:*

BERLIN, May 10.—Professor Guckinsluft today discovered the reason for the German Government's obstinate refusal to accede to the Allied demand for reprisals. Doctor Simons, it seems, suffers from delayed and inverted wisdom-teeth, which explains his inability to comprehend the Allied position. President Ebert, it is said, has lost all the nerves of his lower teeth, which, Professor Guckinsluft declares, explains why his jaw is so slow to help frame the words the Allies wish to hear.

LONDON, May 15.—The striking coal-miners insist that Lloyd George's inability to see their side of the case is due to his lack of sound eye-teeth. A Parliamentary Liberal-Labor delegation met at 10 Downing Street at midnight to discuss the matter with the Premier.

PARIS, June 12.—It is officially announced that M. Briand's mania to acquire German money has practically disappeared since his teeth were drawn. Much precious metal was recovered in the process.

PETROGRAD, July 1.—Trotzky and Lenin have today abandoned and publicly renounced all forms of collectivism, communism, and socialism. This is the result of Doctor Stancourt's revolutionary discovery and the fine work of an American dentist, whose expenses to Russia were jointly borne by Herbert Hoover, Judge Gary, and the New York *Times.*

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Napoleon—After One Hundred Years

THE death of Napoleon, one hundred years ago this fifth of May, ended the most striking career of modern times. At the age of twenty-five he was an obscure provincial serving in the army, scarcely heard of; within fifteen years he had made himself master of France, and with this newly won power had established, on the ruins of the ancient political system of Europe, an empire whose frontiers were on the Niemen and the Adriatic; five years later, while not yet fifty, his power was at an end, and he was carried off to fret himself to death in helpless and hopeless inactivity on the island of Saint Helena. "Power is never ridiculous," Napoleon said. The remark, upon analysis, proves to be essentially meaningless; but it is characteristic of the man, and furnishes one of many keys to his character. Before he acquired power, and after he lost it, *he* at least was a little ridiculous; but during the brief years of his opportunity he bestrode the narrow world like a colossus by virtue of being, more perhaps than any man who ever lived, pure will and intelligence, combined with boundless energy, and unfettered by custom or tradition, by any moral scruple, or delicacy of feeling, or human sympathy. An egoism so complete, combined with an intelligence so perfect in its kind, gives one a sense of having to do less with a personality than with an impersonal cosmic force.

With Napoleon it was not so much ambition in the ordinary sense, as a restless and irresistible nervous energy that impelled him to action. He could no more inhibit the impulse to great undertakings than the dynamo can inhibit the electric current it generates. With his genius for administrative rectification, he quickly systematized and consolidated the results of the Revolution in France; with France set straight, his fingers itched to clean up Europe. What might seem impossible to others, seemed only too easy to him—and was so. One step led to another; and as first Italy, and then Germany, crumbled at his touch, his vision of power expanded, and his ideal of a reconstructed world became more ordered and precise. Was he "sincere"? Was he actuated by mere love of glory, or by a genuine desire for the welfare of Europe? Futile questions! As well ask the ocean whether it seeks the admiration or the welfare of mankind. Like most great men, Napoleon had the capacity for identifying personal ambition with the ultimate good.

The man who could say that if France had no literature it was the fault of the Minister of the Interior was not likely to appreciate the best side of that old Europe. What he saw clearly was its worst side—its accumulation of outworn institutions, its flagrant inequities and useless aristocracies, its pointless but interminable conflicts; all the lost motion of its antique political machinery was a perpetual irritation to the man who, as Madame de Rémusat said, never voluntarily made concessions, even to grammar. To liquidate this Old Regime in favor of the Revolution was the task of his Empire as he came to conceive of it. Yet the Empire was itself not all new. "The magic of an aristocracy," Napoleon said, "consists in time and antiquity, the only things I was not able to create." The substance of the Empire was to be his creation; but to give his creation a hold upon the imagination of men it needed to be overlaid with a veneer of time and antiquity. This Napoleon found in that persistent tradition of European unity derived from the Roman Empire and sanctified by Holy Church. He therefore dressed himself in the habiliments of Charlemagne, and conceived of himself as renewing the Holy Roman Empire, an institution which had never been wholly national but always something European. Henceforth its capital should be Paris, since the new Charlemagne had revived the ascendancy of the Franks, and Rome as well, now that the patrimony of Saint Peter had been "reannexed" to the one-time Frankish kingdom lately become the French Republic. "The government of the Republic is confided to an Emperor"—so reads the Constitution of the Year XII, thus combining the tradition of European unity with brand new ideals of democratic equality.

Much war was necessary to "end" war and effect an "enduring" peace; but by 1810 the form of what was to be a regenerated and federated Europe began to emerge. Over all was the Emperor, but with a greatly enlarged France as his main support, and many minor kingdoms and principalities as his protégés. As the government of France was "confided to" the Emperor directly, the government of such subordinate kingdoms as Naples, Italy, Holland, and Westphalia was confided to members of the imperial family who ruled their kingdoms by virtue of being kings, but only under the supervision of the Emperor. Less intimately bound to the Empire were the federated states of Switzerland and South Germany, or the semi-independent but greatly diminished states of Prussia and Austria; yet still bound by defensive and offensive treaties, or by diplomatic intimidation, to accept the Emperor's "protection."

Under the Empire, thus conceived, the "liberty" of the idealogues would no doubt disappear; states and dynasties and nations—even France herself—would lose their much-prized "independence." But what harm in that, since they would gain in return security, peace, and prosperity? It is true they would have to contribute men and money for the Empire; but the Empire would confer upon them the benefits of a superior civilization: free commercial intercourse; an efficient civil administration; a uniform and intelligible system of money and of weights and measures; an equitable system of taxation; the Code Napoleon; and for all men equality of opportunity. National egoism would disappear, as well it might, and with it the oppression of one people by another. So in the future the distinction of being French or Prussian or Serbian would be lost in the higher distinction of being a European, a citizen of the Empire. French would become the imperial language, the language of government and administration, of commerce, of learning, and of polite society, while other and less effective languages would sink to the level of provincial dialects. If Italian or Saxon or Dutch literature and art should unhappily fall into decay, that was no more than might happen to any country. Let the Minister of Public Instruction attend to it; it would be after all an immense gain if literature and art, like science, should lose their national, that is to say their provincial, character, only to become European and universal. No doubt the ideal was far enough removed from the actual. No doubt it was all a gorgeous anachronism. History is profoundly ironical. The chief result of Napoleon's effort to abate the spirit of nationality was greatly to intensify the spirit of nationality, which later transformed itself into the spirit of modern imperialism, with Germany as its chief exemplar.

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Jewry at the End of the War: A Review

By JUDAH L. MAGNES

THE after-the-war imagination plays busily about the Jew. Books, magazine articles, newspaper editorials, the talk of the man in the street, figure him as a sort of Mephistopheles of the peoples. It is the Jew, they say, who is bedeviling this distracted world.

But what has the World War been doing to the Jew? What is the position of Jewry at the end of the Great War?

During the war the belligerents overlooked no opportunity, however insignificant, to strengthen their position, and almost all of them sought the help of the Jews. Not that there was anything lacking in the spontaneity of the patriotism of the Jews anywhere. Everywhere they furnished more than their quota of men and money. But the moral help of the Jewish people as a whole was sought by the belligerent governments. They issued proclamations and declarations and promises to the Jews. They almost pacted with the Jews. This was not only because the Jews were strong, but also because they were weak. In an appreciation of any Jewish situation it is well to look for two coexistent factors: the Jews are strong and the Jews are weak. The governments said to the Jewish people: If you give us your moral and intellectual and financial help, we shall give you freedom wherever you are enslaved. It made no difference: Russian or Turk, British or German, Italian or Austrian—aside from the patriotism of the Jews in every land, the governments of both sides treated with the Jewish people as though with some non-belligerent Power.

This was due, of course, to the anomalous position of the Jews of Europe. Five millions of them in Russia and Rumania were huddled together beyond the law, without the status of citizens. Another million in Galicia and Bukowina were economically "Luftmenschen," among the poorest of the poor. Another 500,000 in Germany were spiritual sufferers under the unrelenting pressure of organized anti-Semitism. The war was fought for freedom. So the Jews everywhere rallied to the colors. In Russia and Rumania they were to fight for their own freedom. In Germany and everywhere else the spilling of blood in common with their Christian countrymen was to seal the bond of universal brotherhood. When the Russian Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaevitch entered Warsaw he promised freedom to the Jews of his own country. When the Germans and Austrians were on the march eastward they issued proclamations in Yiddish promising liberation and national rights to the Jews of the countries about to be conquered. When the revolutionary Russian armies were threatening to overrun Rumania in May, 1917, the Rumanian Government, then a fugitive in Jassy, promised "to solve the Jewish question." When the fortunes of war were unfavorable to the Entente in November, 1917, the British and French Governments held out Palestine to the Jewish people as a National Home; whereupon the Turks made their own counter-proposals. It might be of interest to collect the public proclamations and promises to the Jews; and, seeing that secret diplomacy was part of well-nigh every situation, there are doubtless other than public documents to be added to this collection of war-time promises.

As a result of the war and these promises the Jewish people has achieved a formal political victory. But whether they are in fact stronger, physically and spiritually, is open to question. Politically, their distinctness as a religious, racial, and linguistic group has been recognized in the treaties with Poland, Rumania, and the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the treaty with Poland the Jews are specifically guaranteed religious liberty and a kind of cultural autonomy. Moreover, in the public law of the world there is now established, as the result of the San Remo Conference, the conception of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

But both the minority rights in Eastern Europe and the National Home in Palestine present grave problems to the Jews. The grant of minority rights recognizes the existing fact that the Jews make up a nationalistic group in Eastern Europe, where they have lived massed for hundreds of years, and where they have developed their own language, customs, and life. But their neighbors are not accustomed to this new and elevated political status of the Jews, and they are not spiritually and economically ready to live and work with the Jews on equal terms. As a consequence, the present attitude of the newly liberated Polish people themselves toward their Jewish neighbors is much worse than in the old Russian days; and if the minority rights are to work out there and elsewhere it will depend not so much on the League of Nations, which is charged with enforcing from without the terms of the treaty, as upon the ability and willingness of the Jews and Poles themselves to find a modus vivendi based upon mutual respect and common labor.

As to Palestine, the recognition of the Jewish claim to a National Home is an acknowledgment of an ancient and historic aspiration of the Jewish people. Yet Zion restored and dedicated to the service of humanity is enmeshed in the purposes of British imperialism, and the political superimposition of a Jewish National Home upon Palestine is but another instance of the loose way in which the self-determination of peoples has been conceived by the treaty-making Powers. The fact that the majority Arab population is not hospitable to these political claims places the Jewish settlement under a distinct handicap which only labor and sacrifice and genuine good-will can overcome. Both the grant of minority rights and the recognition of Jewish aspirations in Palestine, while basically just, exhibit all the disadvantages of political privileges bestowed from above upon those not strong enough to achieve privileges or even to defend them by themselves.

Physically, the scattered Jewish people has been even more scattered than before. The Jewish reservoir of population in Central and Eastern Europe is broken and is flooding in all directions. The Jews are on the march. It is a veritable wandering of Jewish peoples. In 1915, early in the war, over 200,000 Jews were driven out of Lithuania by the Russians on a night's notice. Ever since that time not a week has gone by without reports of Jews wandering—villages of them on the firing line, refugees in the cities, crossing Siberia, overcrowding Constantinople, knocking at the gates of America, sailing, walking to Palestine. On the Eastern front, during the war, their homes and synagogues and towns were destroyed by the thousand, and since then they have been hounded like beasts and terrorized and maimed and slain. In accordance with conservative figures, there

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are 181,000 Jewish war orphans in Eastern Europe. Let any one look into Heifetz's "The Jewish Slaughter in the Ukraine" (Seltzer, 1921) for authenticated documents of the dreadful story of these constant, never-ending pogroms.

The Jews of Eastern Europe have been shunted like playthings from one political nationality to another and back again. When the armies of the new rulers would come into a town, Jews were accused of loyalty to the old regime, and when the old armies came back Jews were hanged for having welcomed the new troops too effusively. It is all too often overlooked that, despite arbitrary political boundaries, the Jews of Eastern Europe have formed a rather compact mass territorially. Jews, whether on the Russian, the Galician, or the Rumanian side of a border line, have been as alike in speech, dress, and ways of life as three peas in a pod. In addition to the native Yiddish, it was only the Russian and Polish languages that Jews had to acquire. Now this territorial compactness, while still unchanged except for the number of Jews, is crossed and criss-crossed by new and strange boundary lines; and the Jews of each new state or resurgent nationality must put on new political garments and speak new patriotic tongues. The result of this upon his Yiddish speech and culture, upon this territorially contiguous but politically split-up mass of Jews is regarded with dismay by many who consider the free intercourse of the Jews of Eastern Europe with one another as basic to the development of their Jewish culture.

Their minority rights are assured by treaty; but this at a time when the centuries-old Jewish homes of Eastern Europe are breaking up, when the ancient Jewish wanderer's staff is in each man's hands, and when strange new flags wave over the familiar soil.

Beyond this, the uncertainty of the future in Soviet Russia is a factor of no mean importance. There are now perhaps two to three million Jews in Soviet Russia, including the Ukraine. In Russia, where in all of the long history of Jewish martyrdom Jews have suffered most, Jewish life is safe at last. All manifestations of Jew-baiting are put down by the Soviet authority. But the way of future Jewish development in Soviet Russia is problematical. There are Jews now all over Russia where they never were permitted before; and with peace in Russia and an improvement in transportation, there seems to be but little doubt that thousands of them will want to settle in other parts of Russia, or leave Russia altogether, thus aiding in the break-up of the territorial compactness of the Jews of Eastern Europe. Moreover, despite the liberal policy of the Commissariat of Nationalities toward the cultural autonomy of all nationalities, the tendency is decidedly away from the Yiddish culture toward the Russian. On the other hand, some Jewish nationalists have been discussing the suggestion that the Soviet Government set aside a definite territory, perhaps in Western Siberia, for Jewish colonization, with the ultimate intention of having an autonomous Jewish community as part of the Federated Soviet Republic. Moreover, it is held by some that with the cessation of warfare and the need in Russia of productive forces large numbers of Jews will leave Poland and other East European countries for Russia.

Meanwhile, Poland contains more Jews than any other East European country, although Rumania, with the Jews of Bessarabia and Transylvania and the Bukowina, now has a Jewish population of over one million; and Lithuania, with its smaller Jewish population, has been so liberal in its Jewish policy as to institute a Ministry of Jewish Affairs.

The 500,000 Jews of Germany are hardly to be envied. Materially, they are as prosperous as any other part of the population. Indeed, they are charged with having their share of profiteers and food smugglers. Other crimes of which they are accused are: Having brought on the war and having stopped the war, having bought out President Wilson and having made a bad peace for Germany, having been too friendly with the Kaiser and having made the German Revolution. The early promise of the war that anti-Semitism in Germany would vanish has not been fulfilled, and the German Jew is harder put to it than ever before. Interestingly enough, however, it is the Jews of Germany who are now producing more literary and artistic work of sincerity than any other part of Jewry.

With the Balfour promise of Palestine for the Jews, and with a British mandate over Palestine, it is intelligible how the small British Jewry is regarded by many Jews as now the most important of all, politically. Many Jews, indeed, when considering the relations of states and peoples, now ask themselves this question first of all: How will this affect Britain? It is thus not too much to say that Great Britain has received from the Jewish people her equivalent for the Balfour declaration. Indeed, Mr. Zangwill and the *Jewish Chronicle* of London suggest that the Jewish people are paying altogether too high a price.

If it was the fate of the Jews of Eastern Europe and the d stiny of Palestine which were made the objects of Jewish political endeavors during the war, it was equally the sympathy and aid of the great Jewry of America which the belligerents sought with these pawns to secure for themselves. The Jews of the United States, numbering now about three and a half millions, are a larger aggregation than under any other sovereignty. They are also wealthier and more powerful, and it is they to whom their weaker brethren in other parts of the world primarily look for succor. On the other hand, one of the striking accompaniments of the war has been the virulent outbreak of organized anti-Semitism in both England and America, and the imminent closing of the gates of America to persecuted peoples is a tragic blow to thousands of intending immigrants.

With the possible exception of the Jews of Germany, the war has not had a quickening effect upon the spiritual productiveness of the Jews. The mind of Jewry has been taken up almost completely with securing the political status of the oppressed Jewish people. Jewish literature, art and philosophy, scholarship and religious thinking have received but slight enrichment. Here and there the peculiar reaction of the Jewish working masses and many Jewish individuals to the war has formed the basis of theories concerning the essentially humane and compassionate nature of the Jewish heritage, and has emphasized for many the great duty of developing the distinctive Jewish outlook upon life. Mankind's need of a true internationalism can be helped to fulfilment by the international Jewish people.

The impress of individual Jews upon the world and how far this can be accounted for by their Jewish origin or upbringing cannot be discussed in a matter-of-fact review. The contributions of Jews to present-day schools of French thought, for example, or to the German Revolution, or to Russian statecraft, naturally have their retroactive influence upon the position of Jewry as a whole. All of that belongs to the interesting chapter on the influence of the Jews upon the present-day world.

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Zionism Today

By LOUIS LIPSKY

THE Palestine mandate given to Great Britain is the successful culmination of the organized effort of the Jewish people to obtain recognition of their status as a nationality and the requisite political conditions for the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

In 1897 Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist of striking personality, organized the World Zionist Congress, formulated in the Basle program the aim of the movement, and subsequently created the World Zionist Organization and a variety of financial institutions which were to be the instruments for the realization of the Zionist ideal. In spite of great difficulties—the idea of concerted action by Jews for the realization of their ancient hope was novel and met with Jewish opposition—the movement developed, some little progress was made on the political side, finally a slight movement into Palestine took place, and schools and other institutions were established. Theodor Herzl died without having acquired the charter from the Turkish Government he was working for. His successors did little more than strengthen the positions he had won. Since the beginning of the Great War the actual leadership of the World Zionist Organization was assumed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a British chemist of Russian birth, who was elected president of the Organization in the summer of 1920.

Great credit is due Dr. Weizmann for carrying through the difficult political negotiations with the British Government which resulted in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and subsequently its incorporation in the treaty with Turkey which was adopted at San Remo. Impressed by his personality, inspired by his prophetic imagination, and guided by what they believed to be a high humanitarian motive as well as political sagacity, leaders of British politics like Arthur James Balfour, the late Mark Sykes, Lord Robert Cecil, and others became the advocates of the recognition of the Jewish right to Palestine and of the terms of the mandate recognizing the Zionist Organization as the Jewish agency to cooperate with the mandatory government in making Palestine the Jewish National Home. Dr. Weizmann stands out as the legitimate successor of Theodor Herzl, having brought to a successful conclusion the latter's ambitious dream of the renascence of Jewish national life in Palestine.

The Jewish people now face the practical realization of an age-long hope, a hope incorporated in the prayers of centuries. It was with Zion on their lips that martyrs of the Middle Ages went to the stake. It was the consolation of this vision that made possible the persistence and resistance of Jews during their exile. For the first time in over 1800 years a chance is offered them to return to the land of their ancestors and to put into material form the ideals of life for which they have always struggled.

The San Remo decision is an invitation and a challenge. It is to be the test of the capacity of the Jewish people to reconstruct their national life. It is to be the test of the vitality and the validity of their hopes and prayers. The opportunity finds the Jewish people in a very precarious position. The Great War disintegrated the life of the Jews in Eastern Europe. They were in the very center of the conflict and suffered both as civilians and as soldiers. They were the victims of every shift of national interest through which Eastern Europe passed during the Great War. Everywhere throughout Europe the Jews now find themselves in a worse plight than the rest of the population. Two consequences arise out of this condition—one bad, the other good. The first is that over eight million Jews, practically two-thirds of the entire race, are in a state of poverty and helplessness and can only feebly help in the work of redemption. The other side of the shield is most favorable.

A large exodus has started out of the lands of persecution of thousands of the best sons and daughters of Israel. They are marching not to the west, but to the east. They are driven by necessity, but the inspiration of their march is the comforting thought that at last they are moving homeward to the land to which they have a recognized right to go. Not the old and the helpless are going, but young men and women, the capable, the talented, the vigorous, and the determined. Included among them are skilled workmen, engineers, physicians, laborers, students, merchants. They feel as if the traditional Shofar has been sounded and that they are being called to redeem Zion and to console Mother Rachel who has been weeping for the return of her children. The terrors of war have not killed their spirit; the horrors of pogroms have not made them forget Zion.

The tramp of their marching is heard on the highways leading into Warsaw, into Vienna, into Budapest, and all seek the port which will enable them to embark for Palestine. They are ready to suffer the greatest privation. They walk with bleeding feet, but their determination to reach Zion is unshaken. Several thousands of them who have already entered the land of promise are now engaged in building roads for the Palestine Government. They are accommodating themselves to the severest hardships. They sleep without shelter under the blue sky. They lack the proper apparel for the hard work they are doing. In spite of the fact that they are unaccustomed to this hard labor they do their work well, even better than the Arabs who previously used to do this kind of work. In other words, the situation in Eastern Europe has brought about a flow of immigration into Palestine, unaccelerated, uninvited, pressing with the vigor of ambitious life to find an outlet in a land of their own.

During the Turkish regime, with the Government imposing obstacles, the Zionist Organization did not succeed in creating the machinery for the development of a Jewish homeland. The institutions founded by Theodor Herzl, still existent and operative, are insufficient for the larger purposes. The Jewish National Fund is dedicated to the purchase of land for the whole Jewish people; in other words, national land never to be alienated from the people. The Jewish Colonial Trust in its charter has a broad field, including all sorts of colonization efforts, but actually it has been engaged in Palestine in ordinary commercial banking through the Anglo-Palestine Company. Both agencies together represent a capital investment of less than three million dollars. Even if the forty-eight or fifty Jewish colonies are included, the land purchased by Jews through the National Fund and otherwise is insignificant. A few cooperative colonies are still struggling to find a modus that

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will be adapted to Palestine conditions and to the social habits of Jews. An experiment farm was set up and experts in agriculture had made slight preliminary studies of conditions. A network of Jewish schools was taken over by the Zionist Organization soon after the outbreak of hostilities. There was the beginning of a technical institute at Haifa, established cooperatively between German and American Jews. The cornerstone of the National University was laid at Jerusalem. But, in effect, no program was, or probably could be, devised to meet conditions as presented by the San Remo decision. The Zionist Organization as the Jewish agency must now begin its initial step in the way of nation-building.

The aim of the Zionist Organization is, as I understand it, to frame a workable program which will make it possible in the course of five or six years to settle in Palestine at least half a million Jews, and not only settle them on the land in industrial and agricultural pursuits, but at the same time build up a national organism which shall hold the Jewish people together and transform the scattered settlements and the scattered efforts into a national life. To this end there will be required a large central operating force, augmented by groups of individuals who, inspired with the hope of themselves settling in Palestine and provided with means of their own, will become active in agricultural industry and commerce. The Zionist Organization as such will be the initiator of the large national enterprise and will be the guide of those who of their own initiative desire to settle.

Stripped of all poetry, Palestine is at the present time a land which will require upbuilding from the bottom. During the Turkish regime the forests have been denuded of trees. Large tracts of land have been uncultivated. Road-building was an unknown or unused science among the Turks. It seems to have been their policy to reduce the country to a state of beggary. In order to begin the work of Jewish development in Palestine the Zionist Organization will have to begin with the foundations of life. It is now practically a *tabula rasa*. There is no irrigation of any consequence, most of the water in agricultural sections being derived from wells. Fuel is an expensive article, although Palestine has the elements to make power inexpensive.

One of the first projects considered by the Zionists has been a plan worked out by engineer Pincus Ruttenberg to harness the water of the Jordan River and to turn it into electrical power, at the same time making provisions for the use of the water for irrigation purposes. The estimates are that the waterfall of the Jordan River would provide sufficient power to electrify the entire country. The plan of Ruttenberg has been approved by experts in France and in England and everything is in readiness for its execution. The Zionists will also have to engage in the establishment of key industries essential for the introduction of industry for which the land is capable. Cement plants are being contemplated as well as brick factories. The scarcity of houses makes it imperative that public moneys be used for stimulating building. At the present time Palestine lacks a credit system. It is one of the essential things contemplated by the Zionists to establish a series of credit banks, banks for workingmen who engage in cooperative industry, banks for farmers to enable them to purchase machinery and to build up their home equipment, banks for merchants to engage in commerce and local trade. The land must be made healthy and habitable, swamps must be drained, malaria must be exterminated, the hills must be afforested, etc.

Of course, a large immigration presupposes also a colonization plan because the country cannot be expected to absorb thousands of newcomers without engaging in large constructive enterprises. There will have to be a plan for settling men and women upon land where they can engage in agriculture and industry. One such plan has already been formulated to establish a cooperative settlement under Zionist control of a large number of Jews. Land must be purchased for this purpose and probably the Government itself will make certain grants of land to the Zionist Organization.

The Palestine Government will naturally do its share in the general upbuilding of the country. But the Zionist Organization is expected to be the agency which shall place all its resources at the disposal of the Jewish settlement. The Palestine Government will in all probability take up all such enterprises as are of a municipal character, or of a general public character. For example, the improvement of conditions in Jerusalem, the building of docks, the clearing of roads, the policing of the country will be in the hands of the Palestine Government. But the establishment of the economic foundations of the country with a view to the large Jewish immigration is a matter that must be intrusted to the Zionist Organization.

For this purpose the Zionist Organization at the London Zionist Conference established a fund to be known as the Keren Hayesod, Foundation Fund. It is intended to appeal to all Jews to contribute to this national central fund, in order that the Zionist Organization may through proper corporations to be created undertake those public utilities and those national enterprises that are essential if a large Jewish immigration is to come to Palestine. For the execution of all plans an Economic Council has been created with Sir Alfred Mond, now Minister of Health of the British Empire, as chairman. All funds collected will go to the Keren Hayesod and all funds for the economic undertakings of the fund are to be allocated to the Economic Council, which shall be responsible for the execution of all economic plans.

There will, naturally, be no cut-and-dried plan for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. Under the circumstances it is very hard to conceive of any plan that will meet with the changing situation. The National University at Jerusalem, the cornerstone of which has already been laid, seems to be out of place in any well-conceived plan of economic development, but the Zionists see in the National University a token of the spirit which animates them in their return to Zion. It is not merely for the purpose of gaining a livelihood under free conditions that Jews are summoned to return to Palestine; it is because the Zionists feel that their return to Palestine means something of value to the civilization of the world that they put all their enthusiasm and their devotion into this cause. The National University is the symbol of the idealism of the movement. It is most significant that Professor Albert Einstein, whose remarkable contributions to the science of physics have astounded the world, is lending his efforts to the establishment of the National University. The Zionists seem to see in this effort a realization of the prophetic utterance with regard to the word of the Lord going forth from Zion.

It is this spirit as illustrated by the National University

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which sheds light also on the attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs, their neighbors and their fellow-citizens in Palestine. A great deal of inspired literature has been printed with regard to the antagonism between Arabs and Jews. If the Jews were returning to Zion as a commercial people, as a people desiring to exploit the natural resources of the land and to reap large profits, then indeed might the Arabs regard their return as a menace. But those Jews who are now returning to their homeland have little of the grasping spirit in them. They are idealists and the pioneers of Jewish ideal. The university which is to be erected on Mount Scopus is to them more inspiring than the establishment of a cement factory. Just because that spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice animates the pioneers the world at large may rest assured that in the building of the New Zion they are witnessing the renascence of the ancient Jewish people, the Jews of the Bible and the Jews of the prophets, who have carried their ideals unscathed through generations of persecution and who still have a message of uplift to bring to the peoples of the world.

Palestinian Problems

By HIRAM K. MODERWELL

IF ever it was dangerous to rock the boat it is now. And if ever there was a boat requiring expert navigation it is Palestine under the terms of the Balfour declaration. And yet, just now there walks into Palestine (or at least, into Palestinian affairs by way of his Egyptian visit) Mr. Winston Churchill as Minister of Colonies, although neither the one country nor the other is a part of the British Empire, let alone a colony. Winston Churchill, chief bull in the British china shop, the reckless mouther of boasts, he who didn't "dig the rats out of their holes" at Kiel, he who didn't capture the Dardanelles with battleships, he who didn't overthrow Soviet Russia, he who messes everything and riles everybody he touches, he who keeps on his desk a bust of Napoleon, that most magnificent of failures, though he hasn't been able to imitate his magnificence!

Winston Churchill putting his finger into Palestine where a pebble dropped may cause a religious scandal, and a tiny letter on a coin a racial uproar; where a man who buys a field is accused of tyranny and a man who buys a house of conspiracy; where property titles may depend on what was in the mind of Abdul Hamid's tax collector or on what Robert of Normandy wrote to the Sultan; where if the British High Commissioner judges, or rules or guesses wrong, the Beduins may get out their scimitars or the Jewish race may appeal to the League of Nations, or a great power may break off diplomatic relations![1] Palestine, in which the rival claims of two races, three religions, and innumerable sects, crossed by political intrigue and secular bigotry, have only been held in delicate balance by the extraordinary wisdom and tact of Sir Herbert Samuel!

Popular myth pictures Palestine being turned over to the Jews by British fiat, that they may all emigrate there and restore Solomon's kingdom and dance to the timbrel and the harp. This picture is bizarre enough. But interested persons elaborate on it, and paint a fresco of the Jewish tyrant oppressing, or exiling, or mayhap massacring the gentle Arab residents. Even those who know the facts and state them fairly, allow themselves to slip into those prejudicial phrases about the Jews "seizing the country" and "driving the Arabs from their homes."

If the situation were as melodramatic as this, it might be amenable to a fire-eater like Mr. Churchill. But the real truth is quite prosaic. Great Britain has taken the country under a paternalistic guardianship, and is permitting a limited number of individuals to emigrate there. It is true that these emigrants happen to be almost exclusively Jews (and if you take one look at the rocky country you will understand why no one cares to come there to live unless he has a religious interest in the site). But all it amounts to in law is that the Jews may come to Palestine, if they want to, on equal terms with other people, just as they may come to America.

The phrase "a Jewish National Home" as applied to Palestine in the Balfour declaration has offended some who insist that the Jews are not "a nation" but "only a race" (see the dictionary), and has frightened others who see in the word "national" the implication of a Jewish political state. Whatever Zionist extremists may have said, Great Britain, we may be sure, is never going to relinquish her hold upon the other side of the Suez Canal. Palestine will certainly remain in its politics British and nothing else, though a million Jews come to make their "national home" there. In short, what the British administrators in Palestine are worrying about is not the problem of placing King Solomon on his throne. They are worrying over the more extraordinary difficulties of speaking narcotic words to the two-and-seventy jarring sects, of building up an exhausted and misgoverned country, and of soothing and confining explosive racial passions.

Those who have piously trembled for the sacred sites of the Christians and Mohammedans in Palestine are deceived or deceivers. The British are distressed enough at having to decide which stones belong to whom in the Wailing Wall and having to mediate between the Greek and Latin monks who dispute the custody of the Cenacolo. They are having too much trouble keeping things as they are to want to risk a pogrom by disturbing the Mosque of Omar, or a diplomatic explosion in Europe by permitting anyone to lay a finger on the Holy Sepulcher. So it may be stated bluntly and confidently that all the holy sites will be protected, and every hoofprint of Mohammed's winged horse Al Borak and every picture painted by Saint Luke will remain exactly where and as it is, and there will be no Ark of the Covenant on Mount Moriah and no synagogue on Golgotha, and there will be no cause for Crusading or Jehading.

The British are the less inclined to risk any religious feuds because of the extraordinary difficulty of their economic task. Palestine is an arid and exhausted country, neglected or superficially cultivated by the Arab peasants for centuries, and almost denuded of its live stock by the war. The soil must be restored and reinvigorated by afforestation, fertilization, crop rotation, and better seeding.

[1] These cases are not fanciful; each is drawn from some serious problem which has recently challenged the British High Commissioner.

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Roads must be built, railways extended, and docks constructed. Cities must be planned, sewage installed, malarial areas drained, public buildings erected, and large tracts of waste land reclaimed. The money for these works must come from increased production of wealth, so small industry must be fostered, raw material supplies assured, and electric energy provided from the great engineering works projected in the Jordan and Yarmuck valleys. A railroad is to be run from Mesopotamia across the desert to Jerusalem and Jaffa, and perhaps a pipe line for oil besides.

The Jews who are coming in must provide the large mass of the technical knowledge and skilled man power. These immigrants (who are now limited to thirty thousand a year) must themselves provide the increased production which is to sustain them—first by intensive cultivation of the soil, each farm under the eye of a skilled agriculturist; then by small industry; and all with the greatest care, for Palestine is too poor to permit of anything being wasted. In short, Palestine must achieve by unified plan and foresight what western countries have come to through evolution by private enterprise.

But this program unchains all those social and racial questions which constitute the most perplexing problem facing the British administration. For this administration is attempting to guide the influx of one race on a soil for centuries held by another. There is, of course, no question of "driving the Arabs from their homes." All the land which the Zionists acquire they must acquire by purchase, just as you or I should. But here arises a vista of difficulties which appears to have no end. Shall the Arabs be permitted to exact the last farthing of the increased value which the Jewish immigrants, by their labor and ability, are going to give to the land? Shall the Jews be permitted to displace from the land which they purchase all those Arab tenant families who have cultivated it perhaps for centuries? Shall land be permitted to lie idle, through laziness or for speculation, when there is not enough food to go around? These are problems which exact at once a bold and a tactful solution. But there are others, peculiar to the place. Shall Arab landowners be dispossessed because their titles are faulty, in a country mismanaged for decades through corruption or negligence? Shall land whose income is devoted to religious purposes be reckoned as ordinary land? Shall a burial ground be uprooted if it lies in the way of a work of public necessity? The harassed British administrator could multiply these questions to infinity.

The High Commissioner (who is in reality High Dictator) has decided that land can be valued only at a certain percentage above pre-war prices, with an extra allowance for religious land; and that land held out of cultivation for more than a fixed term of months shall be sold at the market valuation—the whole ruling being made subject to exceptions at the High Commissioner's discretion. Discretion!—what else could solve these problems? Only you may be sure that the Briton wants to exercise it to preserve the maximum attainable tranquillity in this land seated on the right hand of Suez.

Again, shall the Jews, who are speaking ancient Hebrew in daily life, be prevented from using their language in the courts and public services? The High Commissioner has decided that Hebrew shall be an official language of Palestine along with Arab and English in those districts where it is spoken by 20 per cent or more of the inhabitants. Well then, shall the judges in these districts be exclusively Jews, as must happen, since neither Briton nor Arab is likely to be a fluent Hebraist? In sum, how shall parity be maintained when an aggressive and highly equipped race lives in daily contact with a placid and primitive one?

The Jews come with their schemes for turning sleepy Palestine with its 800,000 inhabitants into a modern industrial community of two million or even three. They talk of "hydroelectric energy," "docks," "silos," "technical schools," "tractors," "commercial museums." Strange words to the Arab peasant, to whom a wooden stick is a plow and the village money-lender a bank! And stranger still the new-fangled social organizations that come with them.

But it is not from fondness for radical ideas, but from economic necessity that Sir Herbert Samuel has come out for state control and condemnation of land, for state aid to private groups, and for state interference in all sorts of transactions whereby man seeks to do his neighbor. And economic necessity has forced the Zionists (whatever their private inclinations) to establish the principle of common ownership of land, cooperative cultivation, cooperative banking, buying, selling, and public works construction. (The new sewage system of Jerusalem and the projected engineering works in the Jordan and Yarmuck are Zionist cooperative undertakings under government control.) Not less essential is the Zionist organization of voluntary courts of justice, regional councils, and administrative organs culminating in an elected Jewish assembly which serves in some sense as lawgiver to the Jews and adviser to the British—all of which may give to the future a valuable example of group autonomy under centralized state control. But how all this social and economic machinery must terrify the childlike Arab! And how easily one clumsy finger-poke from a reckless politician might destroy the delicate adjustment!

Yet is there not something precious to the world in this first attempt to effect the migration of peoples in a planned and orderly way? Throughout all history this readjustment of races has been effected by the sword. But here, for once, is a people (to whom the world owes an accumulated debt of many centuries for the crimes it has committed against them) asking only to earn its right to new land by peaceful agreement, and to increase the productivity of the world a little by its own skill and toil. Would it not be a pity if the venom of propagandists or the maladroitness of politicians were to turn it to bloodshed and futility?

A Jew Among the Fords

By LOUIS WEITZENKORN

LATELY I have been made aware of my Jewishness. The matter has been brought to my attention through such innumerable incidents that I am forced to write this, not as a protest against Mr. Henry Ford, but as a plea to him. I want to be saved from the Jews.

It took Americans one hundred and forty-odd years to discover their one hundred per cent Americanism, and I remember that in the process of doing it we often apologized profusely to friends of German extraction the while we

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clouted their heads as a general measure of our patriotism. One of the best inciters to class-consciousness, it seems, is a powerful wallop on the chin. I have been content, hitherto, to go along, vaguely feeling that I was a Jew as I often vaguely felt that I was lefthanded. There have been times, of course, when I was rather embarrassed by my lefthandedness. In school it fell little short of crime to write with my left hand, and there is a lurking instinct yet among people which attributes genius, insanity, and criminal tendencies to citizens who lean toward the left. No one knows how thankful I am not to be redheaded as well. Imagine being lefthanded, redheaded, and Jewish!

But what I am getting at in this essay is Mr. Ford's undoing of all the freedom which I had achieved since departing from my childhood days in the synagogue. I had gotten to a point among a large acquaintance and friendship among liberal and radical non-Jews where I forgot that I was a Jew. They would invite me to their homes, to theaters, and to clubs, and never for a moment allow me to see that I was not of the ordinary human race. I never had a single host or hostess, since growing up, who took me for one of the Elders of Zion, and while my nose is extraordinarily long I have even had girls of other race or faith kiss me without shuddering and even without ordinary bumping.

And now all these friends are apologizing to me. I have learned from them, as they fly to defend me from Mr. Ford, that my race is the remarkablest on earth. I have had a dozen tell me that in my deep brown eyes is the smoldering depth of ages, that look of wisdom and suffering which only a Jew has. I am told by them that I am born with a heritage of countless civilized generations behind me. And no longer do I get the laughing benefit of hearing a good Jewish story for fear of my taking offense. In a word I find myself, so far as these old friends go, a suddenly pedestaled saint (by inheritance!) belonging to a race of marvelous antiquity and ten million virtues. I am afraid to sin . . .

And then there is my father, whose Jewishness was like Americanism before the war. It was there, of course, but not rampageous. He took his religion as I took my lefthandedness—dressed himself in a frock coat two or three times a year—during Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashonah—and went to the synagogue. He, too, mingled with his Gentile neighbors, living a rather ordinary, contented existence, proud of any number of middle-class virtues, his reputation for honesty, his pride of shrewdness, and his musical taste. Now suddenly the appearance of Mr. Ford in a brand new role has changed my peaceful parent. Changing him it has likewise changed the many other Jews whom I know and used to love. For instance, there is a fine, scholarly old gentleman in Brooklyn whose taste until recently was impeccable. A few days ago he wrote to the *Saturday Evening Post* and ordered a hundred copies of a very bad story by Viola Brothers Shore, which went to prove that the Jew was a Jew and that the Dutch have again captured Holland. My father was given this story to read. He, too, puffed out with pride of race and passed the story on to me with the adjuration that I confine myself to proving that Jews are Jews and confirming the report that the Dutch have captured Holland.

I am told also, and it is again Mr. Ford's fault, that we Jews are God's chosen people. There is Moses and Christ and Heinrich Heine and Jacob Schiff—to give but four examples. I am told to think of a nation from whose bowels such heroes sprung. Think what the Jew has done for civilization! Look at the great financiers, the great doctors, the great artists! There is no race on earth but the Jewish which has lived an epic! For thousands of years it has maintained its entity, its customs unchanged. It has survived all cataclysms. . . . And so my father and my Jewish friends are donning their frock coats and striped pants with serious regularity and are going to the synagogue, reading Zangwill's "Voice of Jerusalem," exhorting me to subscribe to Jewish periodicals, to visit such plays as "Welcome, Stranger" and "The Unwritten Chapter," and —as the Jews always have in moments of persecution—are coming together to reestablish themselves and prove once more that the melting-pot won't melt unless the fires beneath it are tended by human beings who know how to cook.

I didn't want to get serious in writing this, but I resent, on the one hand, my Gentile friends idealizing me, and on the other my Jewish relatives and friends making me nationalistic. When I read a magazine I don't want to plop into a fiction story which tells me my race never produced anything but Spinozas when I know from experience the nationality of certain ticket speculators and pawnbrokers. Nor, among its love incidents, do I want suddenly to come upon the statistical tables of Jewish philanthropies, the number of our orphan asylums, hospitals, or soldiers shot in the Great War. I don't want to visit a theater and have Mr. Sam Shipman tell me that only Haym Salomon and his coterie of Jewish friends fought the American Revolution when I know, from things I have read and heard, that George Washington had something to do with it and, perhaps to a lesser extent, a few others along the Atlantic coast. The longer I live the more thoroughly my reason tells me that the Jewish race is about as good as any other race, neither better nor worse, and with about the same characteristics.

You see, I can't forget the recent war. I was carried away in that war. I had thrills sent up and down my spine by hundreds of brass bands. I stood up in theaters when the Star Spangled Banner was played, and I donned a uniform and went to France with the Tanks. All in all, American nationalism got me and made me pretty uncomfortable —taking in the life of the camps, the troopships, and in France. Now, through Mr. Ford, my Jewishness is being aroused along with the Jewishness of millions of others, and I am afraid, if it develops, that some member of my race around the musical studios of Tin Pan Alley will compose a Jewish national anthem, some garment cutter produce a flag, some Jewish financier a war, and then I'll have to go out and get shot or something.

For when it is all said and done, a man must be proud. I'm not proud of anything I haven't done by my own volition or creative power. That is, I'm not proud of my Jewishness, my lefthandedness, nor my long racial nose. These things happened to me, and it is entirely up to the Creator to be proud of this work. At any rate He did it while I—I haven't done much except raise a few radishes in New Jersey, write a few magazine stories, and, with some help, produce two youngsters of my own. I'm rather proud of those radishes and the children, and I hope, as time goes on, that New Jersey won't suddenly start some campaign to make my boys go to war for a cranberry crop or four per cent beer or Jersey climate.

And I wonder if the youngsters will be proud of me?

The China Consortium

Important documents hitherto unpublished in this country, will appear in a forthcoming issue of THE NATION.

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The New Education

I. Its Trend and Purpose

By EVELYN DEWEY

PARENTS are not the only ones who have discovered that graduates of our schools are not endowed with all the knowledge and character necessary in a perfect state. Teachers know it too. Many of them are doing something about it. They can at least give a learned analysis of the failure of the present educational system to educate. Even those who do not admit the analysis usually admit the failure. This group are like most parents. They explain the failure from their own temperamental slant on things. The explanations are as numerous as temperaments are numerous. But they come under two main heads: the satisfied selves and the unsatisfied selves.

For the former schools fail because education is not as it used to be. We coddle the child and lap him in frills and fancies instead of devoting ourselves to the four essentials: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Big Stick. "If it was good enough for me," they say, "I guess it is good enough for my children."

For the latter the trouble is that things are just as they used to be. If their education was classical: "What can you expect from a system dominated by our colleges where the classical tradition largely prevails?" If they worked hard and left school young: "What can you expect in a country where laws do not compel children to stay in school until they have learned a useful trade?" If they got good marks: "Memory is the only thing that counts. I happen to have an excellent memory, so of course," etc. If they got poor marks: "No attention is paid to the individual. I was an exceptional child, dreamy, always writing stories and longing for the fields. No one appreciated me."

Some teachers keep this strong personal slant on education. They are apt to start schools from the fulness of their hearts. The chief aim, often unconscious, is to avoid doing to other children the things that were done to them. The result is an excellent school, where little children are safe and happy. We cannot help wondering at the faith of the initiator that what might have been good for her will be good for all children. The correction of a single misfit seems a limited basis for a thing as complicated as bringing up children. But it is a kindly human limitation after all. It makes sure that the school will be interested in each pupil. Such schools are rather shocking to many people because they present a new set of limitations. But are they any less suited to the business of education than most of our big successful systems?

Before you laugh at the crazy ideas you astutely discover in some of the so-called new schools suppose you make a list of some of the ideas in the old ones. They are none the less crazy because you have grown used to them. There is one school principal who says: "Yes, of course we have outgrown the old ways, but we can't change them. We must pin to them until something is worked out to take their place." Such modesty might be a virtue in a schoolgirl, but in the head of a school the kindest name that can be given it is caution. Why not demand that teachers themselves do a little of this working out, at least while we are waiting for a diviner revelation? How long would a railroad last if its president said: "Oh, yes, wooden cars are unsafe. But we cannot change them. All our cars are wooden"? There is another system where a superintendent boasted that by looking at his desk clock he could tell what every child in town was doing. But even this ideal was vain. It was in one of his schools that a pupil said: "Oh, mother, now I know what you mean when you tell me to concentrate. I have learned how. You know how I dislike my new teacher. Well now she can talk all day long and I never hear a word she says."

You mere parent can choose as well as the educational expert. To help you sift the chaff from the wheat answer these questions: What is education? What do my children do in school? What is a lesson for? Do children exist for lessons in this school, or is the school for the children? If you have answered them honestly you are ready to choose between the old and the new according to your lights.

Are there any general impersonal facts that stand out from this struggle between the old and the new to convince us that our dissatisfaction with schools is more than a tempest in a tea pot? Decidedly yes. Three great factors in modern civilization require changing the school if they are to survive. These factors have nothing to do with educational theories. The man on the street, the slum child, the farmer is more affected by them than the university professor. Hence, perhaps, the slowness in changing schools. They are the increase in scientific knowledge, the resulting industrial system, and a democratic form of government.

The first has made specialization necessary. It used to be possible for a single individual to learn about all there was to know in his corner of the world. All that was known could be pretty well compressed in a few books. By earnest and continuous reading it was possible to master it. It was the sort of abstract and speculative knowledge that could be grasped by reading. The discovery of scientific laws has revolutionized the world. Keep a child reading and reading from the first grade through college, as we still do, and he has only scratched the surface of knowledge.

There are so many facts and each individual needs such a different set of facts that it is folly for schools to attempt to teach children all the things they may need to know. But the majority of schools are still doing this. And the facts they teach are the sort that were popular in the Middle Ages: the name of the highest mountain in South America, and the names and reigns of the kings of England. But, honestly, how much do you think they have to do with education? Did you get that general understanding which is the foundation of your intelligent attitude toward your job and your life from them? How much did school help you in acquiring it? Not very much, you say; you got it from experience.

So schools are not experience; or at least their curricula are not. They are magic doses from a medieval prescription. They are the continuation of a method entirely unsuited to the subject matter of today. Suppose we tried to supply the world's present demand for cloth with hand looms. It would not be much more impossible than trying

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to educate by teaching facts. Education today must consist in learning to learn; finding out about knowledge and what it is for, so it can be acquired and used when needed. This means a child must know how to read. Reading is not merely pronouncing words. It is using books. He must know how to write. Writing is saying something, not merely guiding a pen. He must know how to figure, not so that he can tell the teacher when train A will meet train B, but so that he can buy a loaf of bread or find out how long it will take him to walk the five miles to the lake. It means, too, that he must know something about his own physical and social environment; physics, chemistry, biology, fundamentals of industry, and social relations, both political and historical. He cannot get this by memorizing a few samples in a textbook. What he can get is the knowledge that such sciences exist; that they explain his own world, the things he wears and eats and passes in the streets and the habits of his friends and relatives. He can get control of the intellectual methods that have enabled society to pile up this vast classification and explanation of ideas and things. It is only as children, all children, get this understanding that the fruits of knowledge can serve everyone.

Machines and so the industrial system are the direct result of scientific discoveries. They have multiplied the needs of man by supplying them. They have infinitely complicated the process of supplying them by taking manufacturing out of homes and concentrating it in factories. When it was carried on at home children had opportunities to supplement the magic facts of textbooks by real work. Processes were simple so that they understood what they saw and what they did. Compare the educational value of the weaving industry as carried on in a New England home and a visit to a modern cotton factory. And how few children today even get a chance to visit the factory!

What does a child today have to give him the understanding of his world that came from helping in the endless activities that went on in every home a hundred years ago? A little if he lives on a farm, nothing whatever if he lives in a city slum. But schools have done nothing to supply the real experiences that he got outside of school when each home or community was a self-supporting unit. The manual training and domestic science introduced in the upper grades of most schools are an obscure realization of the need. But most of their value is lost because work has been distorted into textbook form; into a list of facts. It is an educational axiom that children cannot know what they have never experienced. Examine the curriculum of the average school and then get the daily life of children in a crowded city. There is almost nothing in these children's experience to prepare them for the world they will plunge into when they begin earning a living.

But you say schools cannot really be so unsuited to the process of growing up. They have been going on like this while men were discovering scientific laws, inventing machines, and reorganizing society. What education these men had they got in school. This is not strictly true. Leaders are not a typical product of education under any conditions. A streak of genius lifts them above the common run of men. They find experience and turn it to account in things at hand no matter how meager the environment. Not the least advantage of being born poor is the opportunity it offers for getting real experience in childhood. The success of an educational system should be judged by the ability of people to live intelligently who had no useful environment or experience except school; not by the well-being of people whose daily life would have equipped them with the tools of learning and the experience to understand their world without school.

Schools must be judged by such standards if our ideas of social justice or democratic government are to be any more than an abstract conception. Any democratic organization of society depends on the ability of every individual to participate. The conception grew because of every man's sense of his own individuality. It can succeed only to the extent that each man's or woman's individuality finds expression. Educationally individualism and democracy are not opposed. They are the same thing. We have not made good citizens when we have taught every child to read and write and salute the flag. That is not education but a gilded ignorance that leaves undeveloped leadership, independence, and initiative, all the qualities that are necessary in a democratic society. An educated person is one who has had a chance to learn as much as his natural capacity allows and thinks honestly along the lines of his own temperament and personality toward a better understanding of his physical and social environment. Such characters do not spring into existence with manhood. They develop gradually from the day the person is born. It is the school's business to see that they develop so that they are a constructive force in society, not a deadweight or a destructive misfit.

Laburnums

By PADRAIC COLUM

Over old walls the laburnums hang cones of fire;
Laburnums that grow out of old mold in old gardens:

Old men and old maids who have money or pensions have
Shuttered themselves in the pales of old gardens:

The gardens grow wild; out of their mold the laburnums
Draw cones of fire.

And we, who've no lindens, no palms, no cedars of Lebannon,
Rejoice you have gardens with mold, old men and old maids:

The grey and the dusty streets have now the laburnums,
Have now cones of fire!

Contributors to This Issue

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Fascismo—The Reaction in Italy

By CARLETON BEALS

Milan, March 24

LAST night the windows of my room overlooking the Porta Venezia in Milan puffed inwards with a mighty roar. The Diana Theater a block and a half away had been wrecked by a bomb. For the next hour the hospital guards carried out the dead and the horribly mutilated. Later two other bombs were found unexploded in different parts of the city, the new Socialist Party headquarters were attacked with hand bombs and subsequently burned, one of the union headquarters was raided, and the police stopped a rush on the anarchist paper *L'Umanità Nova*. Four days ago on the same Porta Venezia the fascisti (White Guards) and Communists battled. Two days ago a bomb exploded in the midst of a socialist meeting in the Via del Greco. Yet Milan, they say, is practically untouched by the White Guard terror; nearly every other city and every farming district in Italy has witnessed more terrible disasters.

These scenes of violence occur at a time when Italian industry is threatened with panic; when the metal trades are paralyzed; and the textile mills are expected to close their gates. They occur at a time when the liberal Government of Giolitti is marching to a fall, when that Government has itself acknowledged its own impotency, and has declared that with the present Parliament "it is no longer possible to govern."

This wave of reaction is the partial outcome of the disintegration and lost prestige of the Socialist Party, which began with the failure of the revolution of last year, when the world watched breathless while Italy trembled on the edge of bolshevism. There is little doubt that the spirit and the means were at hand for a proletarian revolution. But the very mildness of the Government disarmed the Socialists, and led to a limitation of the "occupations" to the metal trades and the signing of a compromise agreement, guaranteeing a large measure of workers' control in the industry. That agreement has yet to pass through the tedium of parliamentary action.

The revolutionary ardor has had time to cool. An apparent victory is rapidly turning to actual defeat. From Moscow came the thundering charge of betrayal of the Italian revolution, and after it the bomb of the twenty-one conditions. In the ensuing national congress those conditions were rejected, the door was shut upon affiliation, and the weapon of armed revolution cast aside. The Communists bolted.

This spirit of internal dissension infected the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, the Socialists and Communists fighting for control at the recent Leghorn Congress. Both won a Pyrrhic victory. The C. G. L., hitherto subordinate to Socialist Party direction, will perpetuate the union, but with a certain degree of autonomy which augurs approaching independence of action. The C. G. L., numbering 327,000 members at the end of 1913, today has over 2,000,000, or double the number of adherents to the Socialist Party. The Communists effected the separation of the C. G. L. from the Amsterdam International and the passing of a resolution favoring the creation of, and affiliation with, the new red, syndicalist International being promoted by Moscow. Obviously this is a temporary encampment. Moscow has just recognized the Communist Party as the only revolutionary organization in Italy. Will it recognize a confederation of labor affiliated with the Socialist Party? Thus the C. G. L. faces the probability of being cut off from Amsterdam because of international considerations and from Moscow because of national affiliations. The C. G. L. has been further debilitated by the conditions in Italian industry; non-production, lockouts, widespread unemployment, the breaking of strikes by fascisti and federal troops.

This waning of revolutionary spirit, the demoralization and break-up of the Socialist Party, the internal struggles to establish a new orientation have given heart to the frightened heads of industry, to the reactionary wing of the Government, and the newly created bands of fascisti who are carrying war into the disorganized camp of the revolutionists. These fascisti are supposedly organized groups of patriotic citizens saving the country for the king and maintaining its prestige before the world. To what extent their lawless acts are directly inspired by the industrial heads, as the Socialists charge, it is impossible to say. In any event a large part of their ferocity is the aftermath of that war fanaticism and brutality which is easier to arouse than control.

The acts perpetrated are everywhere similar to those in Milan: the burning of socialist and union headquarters, the disruption of radical and union meetings, the destruction of the radical press, armed attack on radical manifestations and parades. In addition they undertake to break strikes and labor contracts, and to guard private property. To their attacks the Socialist Party and the C. G. L. have been unable to offer any effective resistance beyond public denunciation and futile parliamentary bickering. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has scarcely had time to perfect its organization. In spite of that fact it has been obliged to bear the greater share of the persecution, and has opposed the greater resistance. Impromptu conflicts have usually taken place between armed groups of fascisti and Communists. About the first of March the aggressions of the fascisti led to three simultaneous communist uprisings in Florence, Trieste, and among the farm-workers of Puglia respectively. In Florence the assassination of the communist leader, Spartaco Lavagini, and the throwing a bomb into a procession of "pacifist students" resulted in street fighting and barricades. In Trieste the burning of the labor temple resulted not only in street fighting but in the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property. Thus in a few months Italy has been precipitated into a whirl of lawless terror where violence has answered violence and death has paid for death.

In front of this hurricane of hate the Government announced its strict neutrality. All violators of the law, all perpetrators of outrages will be punished, whether Socialists, Communists, or White Guards. Yet in spite of such declarations the civil war continues, and apparently the fascisti are immune from punishment. Daily in Parliament the demands of the Socialists that the Government explain fascisti outrages become more pressing; daily the reactionaries arise and shake condemnatory fingers at Giolitti because of the cannon thundering in Florence, or the riots of the Communists. Is this violence, asks the outsider, due to

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governmental weakness or intention? If it is weakness the strong man must arise—there are few in Italy these days—who will restore the country to orderly methods, or the fire which perhaps may still be trodden out will be quenched only in rivers of blood.

If it is intention, the Government is wielding a dangerous two-edged weapon. There is always the possibility that some such uprising as that in Florence might be successful, and if so might easily precipitate a general revolution. Nor is it exactly the method to reestablish the financial credit of Italy, or to reorganize its railways and factories. But according to the Socialists the Government knows how far to go—just far enough to break the backbone of radicalism and make possible the nullifying of the agreement reached last year in the metal trades. With the failure of those trades, capital insistently demands that the Government quit its position with regard to workers' control. Some of the officials who helped to write that agreement are already announcing their change of front.

Apparently, however, this is part of the general undermining of the Government, which has announced its own impotency in face of a turbulent tripartite Parliament of Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals. The violence throughout the country has precipitated the bitter attacks of the Conservatives and the Radicals, which have been followed by constant, stubborn opposition. Giolitti is daily attacked by the Socialists for his secrecy regarding the London Conference and his refusal to report upon the actions of Count Sforza, and at the same time by the imperialists because of his weak foreign policy. He is attacked by the anti-Germans and the indemnity adherents for his indifference to Germany's refusal to pay. The final slap in the face has come with the appointment of a commission to investigate the bureaucracy of Giolitti, empowered to reorganize the whole administrative machinery and effect desirable economies. Because of these onslaughts Giolitti has declared, "With this Parliament it is no longer possible to govern."

In calling for a new election he has in turn aroused powerful opposition. Nitti, pro-D'Annunzio, pro-war, imperialist, and reactionary, was expected to lead the revolt and perhaps return to power on a program of strict repressive measures, but his attacks on Giolitti degenerated into such personal abuse as scarcely to arouse confidence. Besides the followers of Nitti, at least seventy of the Socialist Deputies are behind Turati in opposing an election at this time.

These last see in all this a coup d'etat on the part of Giolitti, who is surely intelligent enough to realize that a new election would scarcely under normal conditions do anything but cut down his own liberal following in favor of the two extremes. In the eyes of the Socialists, to whom yesterday he was an enlightened statesman, he has now thrown his lot in with the forces of reaction. With some justice they declare that no election can be conducted at the present hour without the gravest scenes of disorder. It would be an election of, by, and for the fascisti, and indeed one paper in Rome has gone so far as to advocate putting this nefarious organization in charge of the polls. The Socialists declare that the result of an election will be a "Turkish Parliament" with Giolitti as "Supreme Sultan," at best an enlightened despot.

Certain it is that reaction is fighting hard in Italy, the one country in Europe that for two years has pointed the way toward a liberal, enlightened policy. Nor is this reaction that of a clever statesman, a Bismarckian reaction of opportunist compromise, which might still have led Italy back to a period of capitalistic reorganization. It is a reaction of brutal lawlessness and murder which has not yet reached its culmination. While this will further break the Socialist Party it will swell the ranks of the Communists. Terrorism has never terrorized. The reflection occurs, Will not the pendulum swing but the more violently to the other extreme?

Germany's Dwindling Radicalism

By S. MILES BOUTON

Berlin, April 2

THE Communist uprisings in Central Germany will have been put down long before this is printed, but as I write railway bridges, government buildings, and villas are still being dynamited, banks and post offices are being robbed, factories seized, and honest workmen terrorized. A large part of the loss could have been prevented and the movement practically crushed by this time if two or three regiments of the *Reichswehr* (the 100,000-man army) had been promptly sent into the disaffected districts. Instead of this, however, the Prussian officials called on the *Schutzpolizei* (protective police), who, with but one machine-gun to every dozen possessed by the Communists and without artillery, found themselves pretty regularly outnumbered as well as outgunned by their enemies, and were frequently obliged to retreat and await reinforcements. That they accomplished as much as they did was due to their superior leadership and quality as soldiers and to the fact that the Communists included in their number some vicious and criminal elements, with no appetite for fair fighting, and many half-grown boys.

But why was not the *Reichswehr* thrown in? Why were the members of the *Schutzpolizei*, with their armament cut down below the extreme limit of effectiveness, called on to take up the unequal struggle? The answer is simple. Herr Hörsing, president of the Province of Saxony, where the trouble began, and Herr Severing, Prussian Minister of the Interior, are Socialists, and the experiences of the last two and a quarter years have been unable to overcome the training and traditions of a lifetime. Not that they have any fondness for the Communists as such, or that they did not earnestly desire to put down the uprising, but they and the party leaders behind them cannot shake off the feeling that those responsible for such outbreaks as the present are merely "misguided idealists" from the ranks of the "class-conscious proletariat." It is bad enough to use force against them in any guise, but the army must not be called on; that might look like counter-revolution.

For the first day or two of the revolt there was reason to believe that those responsible for putting it down had learned by sad experience that even proletarians must not be permitted to violate all penal laws with impunity. Not only the Majority Socialist organs, but even the Independent Socialist papers, at their head *Die Freiheit*, denounced

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The reason the banking interests have refused to sell the North Dakota bond issue is that they are hostile to the public ownership policies of the people of North Dakota. These policies, which include State ownership of a flour mill, a bank, and a grain elevator, together with a program of home building and State insurance, do not, as a matter of fact, constitute an extremely radical program. The State of New York in the past few years has expended state funds to the amount of $170,000,000 for a state-owned waterway, a canal.

New York State has erected a state-owned grain elevator with a 1,250,000 capacity at Gowanus Bay and will build two more at Buffalo and Oswego, respectively. The people's money has entered the New York subways to the amount of $250,000,000. In these two enterprises alone $420,000,000 will be used for purposes similar to those to which this bond issue will be applied in North Dakota. North Dakota is by no means the first or the only State to invade private business.

The North Dakota program of serving the people has merely been somewhat more comprehensive—**and more successful**—than that of any of her sister States. Knowing this, the great banking and public utility interests who feel their domain invaded or threatened by the success of what they like to term the North Dakota "experiment," have determined to make a final effort to ruin it if possible. Hence, their boycott of the North Dakota bond issue.

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Total tillable land	29,159,300	acres
Total land under cultivation	17,033,885	acres
Tons of coal in ground (estimate)	600,000,000,000	tons
Assessed valuation (1920) of all private property	$1,600,000,000	
In addition the State owns—		
Securities valued at	$25,000,000	
Buildings valued at	7,034,353	
Unsold land—1,547,117 acres—valued at	22,242,617	
Total property owned by State exceeds	$50,000,000	

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Series	*Amount*	*Date Issued*	*Interest Rate*	*Denominations*	*Maturities*	*At*	*To Yield*
Bank	$958,000	7-1-1919	5%	$100; 500	July 1, 1929	96.64	5½%
Bank	992,000	7-1-1919	5%	1,000	July 1, 1934	95.28	5½%
Real Estate	300,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	100	July 1, 1931	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	300,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	100	July 1, 1936	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	450,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	500	July 1, 1941	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	600,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	1,000	July 1, 1946	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	1,350,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	1,000	July 1, 1948	100.00	5¾%
Mill & Elevator	500,000	7-1-1921	6%	100; 500	July 1, 1941	100.00	6%
Mill & Elevator	500,000	7-1-1921	6%	1,000	July 1, 1946	100.00	6%

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the troublemakers in the harshest terms. *Die Freiheit*, it is true, had done the same thing on the occasion of other uprisings, but those denunciations were merely *pro forma* and nobody took them seriously. But this time its attacks were so unreserved that it appeared to have left itself no loophole to crawl out of later. The very next day, however, it began to run true to form again, and today, while still making a pretense of condemning the "misguided idealists," it is referring to the bourgeoisie in general as "law-and-order beasts," warning all proletarians to be on their guard against "white terror" and counter-revolution, and threatening all non-Socialists with dire vengeance if they do not deal gently with "the laboring classes whose irritation rests upon most justified grounds." And even the Majority Socialist *Vorwärts* is speaking a similar language.

One of the chief sources of strength of the Communists, one of the things forming the greatest threat to orderly government in Germany, has been the knowledge that, even if their uprisings should be put down, nothing would be done to them. The chances were all against their ever being brought to trial, and still stronger against any prison sentence being imposed. If both these unlikely things nevertheless came to pass, they knew that a general amnesty for "political prisoners" would follow as surely as night follows day, and dynamiters, looters, and murderers have been political prisoners ever since the revolution if they were members of a Socialist Party and had committed their crimes in a revolt against the "bourgeois bloodhounds of capitalism." And so one was not surprised when, on the second day of the present uprising, President Hörsing announced that rioters who voluntarily delivered up their arms would not be asked their names and no action would be taken against them. Since the expiration some weeks ago of the period fixed for the voluntary surrender of military weapons by all Germans, anybody even in possession of such weapons is *ipso facto* guilty of a felony. The head of the German disarmament commission called the Government's attention to this law, whereupon Herr Hörsing's announcement had to be declared invalid.

Minister Severing was in charge of the troops that proceeded against the Communists in the Ruhr district in March, 1920. He ordered that they should not advance more than five kilometers a day, so that "the misguided laboring classes" might have time for sober reflection and that bloodshed might be avoided. Thus the rebels were able to get away with large quantities of their arms, and dozens of loyal members of the protective police are now paying for it with their lives.

After all these experiences one might expect to find a different tone among the leaders of at least the more conservative Socialists. That one does not find it is due in part to that party training and tradition already referred to, but undoubtedly in part also to a growing realization that there is nothing to be gained by coquetting with the great middle class or with intellectual Germany. For not only can no more recruits be expected from those quarters, but some hundreds of thousands of voters who were carried from them into the socialist camps are now returning to the bourgeois fold. The first signs of this came with the Reichstag elections of June, 1920, when the combined socialist vote showed a small decrease from the figure of January, 1919. Twice since then the great majority of the Germans have had an opportunity to give a verdict on applied socialism. Both verdicts were unfavorable.

Elections for the Diet were held in Saxony last November. This state had a socialist majority almost twenty years ago. The existing Diet consisted of 57 socialist Deputies of all factions and 39 bourgeois members. The November election gave the combined Left only 49 Deputies, against 47 for the bourgeois parties. The story told by the popular vote was even more significant. There was a big stay-at-home vote, but while the bourgeois parties lost 126,000, the Socialists lost 200,000. Their combined majority of the popular vote was only 77,000 in a total of two millions, and since the Communists' total vote was 115,000, the Majority and Independent Socialists were in an actual minority.

Final official returns of the Prussian general election of February 20, now available, form a verdict even more unfavorable for the Left. The following table illustrates the shift in the eight months since the last Reichstag election:

Party	Per Cent of Popular Vote	Deputies Elected in Feb.	Deputies Elected in June	Gain or Loss
Majority Socialists	26.2	114	145	—31
Communists	7.4	31	..	+31
Independent Socialists	6.5	28	24	+ 4
German National	18	75	48	+27
German People's Party....	14.1	58	23	+35
Clericals	17	81	89	— 8
Democrats	6.1	26	65	—39
Guelphs	2.6	11	8	+ 3
Economic Middle Class....	1.1	4	..	+ 4
Minor parties	1	..	..	..
	100	428	402	

It will be seen that the Majority and Independent Socialists together lost 27 of the 169 delegates who formerly represented them in the Prussian Diet. The combined Left secured only 4 of the 26 additional members in the new body. Alone, the Majority Socialists lost 31 mandates, and their influence in governmental affairs is further weakened by the losses of the other two parties in the Government *bloc*, the Democrats and Clericals.

A significant indication of the trend of events was given by the results in Greater Berlin. The national capital has been red for years, a big majority of the present Common Council consists of Independent Socialists, and the Majority Socialists are also well represented. In the Reichstag elections of June, 1920, the Socialist parties together had a popular majority of nearly 200,000 votes. In the election of February, Berlin gave a clear majority of its popular vote to the bourgeois parties, whose candidates received 961,171 votes, against 954,916 for the Left. The Independent Socialists were the chief losers, dropping from 437,166 votes last June to 197,031. About 100,000 of the lost votes obviously went to the Communists and another 30,000 to the Majority Socialists, but another 100,000 Berliners did not vote at all. Against this loss of 100,000 was a gain of more than 100,000 for the bourgeois parties.

The strength exhibited by the Communists is more apparent than real. That they had no Deputies in the Diet elected last June but will have 31 in the new Diet is not due to any such surprising increase in strength as would appear on the surface, but to the fact that they had no ticket in the field eight months ago. Despite the trouble they are now making, there is no reason to suppose that they will ever be importantly stronger than now, and much reason to indicate that they will never again be as strong. It is

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also fairly certain that the Independent Socialists have had their day. The chief difference between them and the Communists is that they lack the courage of their convictions. They want the same things, but do not dare try to get them. Thus their appeal is limited in the main to extreme but scholarly revolutionists and to timorous fanatics. They are too radical for Socialists of the school of Bebel and the elder Liebknecht and too conservative for the Communists. Between the two they are beginning to dissolve.

But it is the losses of the parent Socialist Party, still the largest Socialist party in Germany, that are of importance in estimating the status of socialism in the country, for, despite their losses, they still polled four times as many votes as the Independents and three and one-half times more than the Communists. In the old Saxon Diet they had 43.7 per cent of the total membership; in the present Diet they have but 28 per cent. In the Prussian Diet they have dropped from 38 per cent to 26.5 per cent. And the total combined vote in Prussia of Majority and Independent Socialists was but 32.7 per cent, against 42 in January, 1919.

Twist the figures as one may, they still amount to a vote of lack of confidence by several hundreds of thousands of Germans who, a year or two ago, saw in socialism the salvation of the country. That the Socialists are losing ground is frankly admitted by many of the party's clearer heads. And thus the hope of the leaders of the chief Socialist Party—the party of Severing and Hörsing—lies in gaining more recruits from the laboring classes. The other elements are turning from them daily, resentful of their weakness in dealing with enemies of the peace. A change of front now would come too late. There is nothing to do but be tender of the "misguided idealists"—the only reservoir from which, if I read the signs aright, socialism in Germany can hope to draw strength in the future.

Paternalism Versus Unionism in Mining Camps

By POWERS HAPGOOD

IN the course of my wandering existence as a casual laborer in the West a few months ago, it happened that I worked as a coal digger in two mines which were being operated under very contrasting conditions. One of them was the Frederick Mine of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, located at Valdez, Colorado, in the Trinidad district. Here the union was not recognized, as it had been broken in the Colorado coal strike of 1914, and the mine was being run under the so-called Rockefeller Plan of employee representation. The other coal mine in which I worked was a strictly union mine located at Bearcreek, Montana, where the United Mine Workers of America have been recognized and have obtained closed shop conditions. The contrast between the lives of the people at the two places is significant in showing the difference in attitude between workers who live under the rule of a paternalistic bureaucracy and those who live under their own guidance.

The living conditions at the Frederick Mine of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company are excellent. Near the mine there is a well-kept main street lined with attractive houses in which the married miners live in comfort with their families for very low rents. A white school house is located just beyond the line of houses, and a good-looking brick building stands out conspicuously as the center of village life. This is the Y. M. C. A., built and maintained by the company for the benefit of its employees. Here there are moving picture shows twice a week, and now and then a dance is held in the large reading room. The bowling alleys and the pool tables in the basement and the checker boards and other games upstairs afford opportunity for light amusement for the miners, while a reading room with books and magazines gives a chance for the more serious minded to educate themselves. Evening classes are held for those who wish to advance from their places as coal diggers to positions as fire bosses, mine foremen, and mine superintendents. Men who are injured at work are taken care of by the company in return for a small fee each month from the individual miners, and in case of the death of an employee of the company his family is permitted to remain in the house which it occupies as long as it wishes free of charge. A weekly income is paid to the widow of a miner who is killed, with an additional amount for each child.

In great contrast to all this is "Brophy's" Mine at Bearcreek, with its cluster of weatherbeaten houses scattered in the coulee about the coal tipple and power house. Here there are scarcely any of the benefits enjoyed in the mining camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Most of the houses might well be called shacks, and, while the little coal town of Bearcreek, surrounding which there are seven or eight mines, boasts a moving picture show and what used to be saloons, there is no Y. M. C. A. or place where the miners can read and attend classes of instruction. The scale of wages is a little higher, but this in no way makes up for the lack of Y. M. C. A.'s, well-built houses, and benefits to the families of deceased miners.

There is one institution here, however, which seems, judging from the attitude of the miners, to make up for the lack of material benefits. This is the local union of the United Mine Workers of America, into which several other newcomers at the mine and I were initiated with due ceremony at the first meeting after our arrival. Every week we would go up the coulee to the little meeting hall of our local, and here we would plan ways of helping ourselves. At the regular and special meetings which I attended during my stay here, members discussed everything from grievances as to working conditions to larger questions concerning the whole district, such as the exploitation of the miners in this district by the powder trust. (Miners have to buy their own powder to shoot down the coal which they are going to load and there was a very large difference between the price charged for black powder in the State of Montana and that charged in other States.) The grievances were usually adjusted between the management and the men by the different committees appointed by the local union, and the powder question was to be discussed and plans made for its solution, when I left, by representatives from all the locals in the district. During my stay at Bearcreek our local signed a contract with a group of doctors who agreed to take care of the men and their families and to give them hospital attention, if necessary, for a fee of two dollars a month per member, a sum no larger than that charged by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company as a doctor fee.

The Mountain-View Local, as our local union was called, was one of the main things in the lives of many of the miners at "Brophy's" mine, especially the Americans. Here they met to plan ways of helping themselves, and they

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learned to do things here on their own initiative. Under conditions like this the men were interested in something besides the comfort of their own material existence. They were interested in promoting the welfare of miners all over the country as well as the welfare of their individual selves and families. This was clearly shown in contributions to help the striking miners in Alabama, which were made at one of the meetings which I attended. In a larger sense they were interested in helping the entire population of wage earners, as many of them indicated in talks they made at the meetings. And above all they were conscious that they were independent as a group and that each one of them had a voice in his own destiny, and because of this they had gone a long way toward acquiring that feeling of self-respect which is so necessary to the happiness of normal men. They were not dependent upon the good-will and kindly disposition of a group of benevolent beings for their rights. They were prepared to act in the only way that workingmen can act to remedy conditions when they are such that a remedy is necessary.

Machinery for the adjustment of grievances, to be sure, is given the employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company under the Rockefeller Plan of employee representation, which provides for meetings of elected representatives of the workers and of the management to discuss questions. But it is a plan handed down from above as a substitute for unionism, and it is one under which the employees can accomplish nothing if the management wills otherwise. It is significant, as far as this plan is concerned, that several men with whom I worked underground, my own partner included who had worked in Colorado Fuel and Iron Company mines for several years, did not know that there is such a plan in existence, and in no case did I find anyone who was really interested in it. The following answer to a question I asked many times is typical of the attitude: "Yes, the Rockyfeller plan's a good thing," said the mule driver who delivered empty cars to my partner and me and took away our full ones, and then he added, "that is, it's good for the company. They've got the workers right where they want them."

There were very few Americans working at the Frederick Mine. Most of my companions there were Spaniards and Mexicans. American miners like to help themselves rather than to take things that are due them as charitable gifts from an authority that can refuse them if it wishes or thinks it to its best interests to do so.

"Don't ask for rights," says Mr. Dooley. "Take them. An' don't let any one give them to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it."

Glasshouse Dialogue

By HAROLD KELLOCK

[The city room of any newspaper. The copy reader is creating headlines from a pile of manuscripts before him.]

CITY EDITOR. Yes, we all have to take chances in getting born. Why, a fellow might have been born in Russia. That would be the limit. Just think of living in that mess of murder and anarchy! (Watch out for that race riot story from the West Side. Two women shot.)

COPY READER. It's a wonder the way those Anarchists can hang on so long. (Writes headline: "Spend a Billion to Elect Mayor.")

CITY EDITOR. Force and corruption. That's the answer.

COPY READER. And ignorance, of course. They never had any education in Russia. ("60,000 Cheer Billy Sunday.")

CITY EDITOR. It's tough on the kids over there.

COPY READER. Hoover says they just let 'em starve. ("Factory Children Happiest, Asserts Noted Clergyman.")

CITY EDITOR. And it must be awful for the women. (Get that story on body of missing girl found in river?)

COPY READER. How do they get away with that nationalization of women stuff? ("Noted Banker Leads Octuple Life.")

CITY EDITOR. You'd think the women wouldn't stand for it. (Get a funny twist on that story of scrubwomen's wages reduced 60 per cent.)

COPY READER. Life is cheap there. With the Red Terror and all, people are used to getting shot. ("Gunmen Slay Social Queen in Ballroom.")

CITY EDITOR. They've driven all the good people out, and they keep the workers in slavery. (Anything on the wire tonight about the peonage in Georgia?)

COPY READER. Yeah. ("Dr. Flunkey Defends Twelve-Hour Day.") They've got the Russian people bunked. That's all there is to it. ("Administration Says We Must Serve Humanity in Mexico.")

CITY EDITOR. We ought to have canned Lenin and Trotzky when we had the chance. Hello. Here's a wire from Helsingfors. "Lenin driven into exile by enraged populace." Boy, take this to Mr. Smatter in the editorial room. They'll want an editorial on that.

COPY READER. Yes. They always do. That's good stuff. ("American Press Best in the World, Says Russian Princess.") Cop-ee!

(Humane Curtain.)

In the Driftway

NO anti-feminist note has usually been allowed to sound in this column. The Drifter is all for women's rights—unless, of course, they interfere with his own. But it does make a difference whose ox is gored. For instance, he strolled into a barber shop in Greenwich Village the other day—a small, quiet place where, from previous experience, he was confident that his hair would not be cut any worse than usual. One seldom had to wait there, he knew. Upon entering, the Drifter usually found one barber screened behind the sporting pages of the morning newspaper, while the other woke with a startled stare from a nap he was taking in a corner. But upon the occasion in question it was the Drifter who, upon entering, was startled out of a nap. Instead of the usual quiet and ease, both barbers were at work at their chairs and in each chair was a very young woman having her hair trimmed! The Drifter gulped and looked toward the chairs along the wall. There sat two customers waiting their turn, and one of them was a woman! Now to the Drifter a barber shop had always seemed sacred to the male sex. He would as soon have expected to find women holding down the famous bleachers behind the Union League Club's plate-glass windows on Fifth Avenue as to encounter them reading the *Police Gazette* and the comic weeklies in the waiting chairs of a barber shop. But times change—and all that sort of thing. The bob-haired tribe of Greenwich Village have discovered the Drifter's quiet

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little shop, and hereafter the barbers, who never paid much attention to his instructions, will pay none at all. Of course a barber shop is a public place, and the flapper is entitled to have her hair bobbed there if she pleases.

* * * * *

THE business men of Dubuque, Iowa, are a queer lot. A newspaper dispatch says that a farmer of the surrounding region went into the city, taking with him twenty-two calf skins as tribute. He sold the twenty-two calf skins at six cents a pound, and then set out to buy a pair of shoes. They cost him $12, after paying which the newspaper dispatch records that the farmer went home with $1.20. That leads to the reflection that the business men of Dubuque, Iowa, are a queer lot. How did they come to let him get away with that $1.20?

* * * * *

GREAT are the ways of government finance since the World War taught nations how to spend billions that they never had and probably never will have! Credit is the greatest thing in the world until somebody calls your bluff, and in these days when men believe so fanatically in the "divine right" of national governments, the financial integrity or methods of the latter are not often called in question. Rash individuals who attempt it are likely to learn from personal experience all that there is to know about the inside of a calaboose. So the Drifter greets with respect the announcement from our Treasury Department that $16,000,000 has been loaned to Italy although there was "no actual cash transfer." The loan, it is stated, was advanced to Italy "for payment to Great Britain, who returned it to this country for the account of France." Button, button; who's got the button? Beginning with next month the Drifter is going to try to pay his bills with "no actual cash transfer." If nobody calls his bluff, he will be able to stop doing even such little work as fitfully and badly he does now. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Americanizing Santo Domingo

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The United States of America will never Americanize Santo Domingo. The military may give way to a disguised civil occupation, but if the latter lasts one hundred years, it will never be other than an alien occupation. And a good reason there is—the Dominicans are the original Americans of European origin, and they know it. The Columbus family did not make its home in New York City, or in Boston, but in Santo Domingo City.

In my sojourn of two months, covering the entire island as an American commercial traveler, I did not meet a single Dominican who did not want the Americans out, bag and baggage. Moreover, I did not meet one "native" who treated me discourteously—more than I can say for the treatment accorded by my own people. The nearest approach to discourtesy by a Dominican was from a gentleman whose brother had been handled most brutally by our national representatives. After inveighing passionately against the conquerors, he perceived my embarrassment and placed an order with me.

Sunday evening, October 24, I got my first insight into what a foreign military occupation means to sensitive Dominicans. Walking up the street that leads from the barracks to the Parque Colón, I encountered two marines returning to their quarters. As they espied me, one said loudly, "Wait a minute; let me get this s. o. a. b." As he crossed the street, he asked me roughly, by way of introduction, in five per cent pidgin Spanish, where in hell the wharf was. I probably avoided a two-to-one street-brawl by answering him in English. The fellow was evidently surprised, for he immediately explained how he and his pal had just been set upon in the streets.

Returning to the hotel, I had been standing in front of it for a few moments when I noticed some colored boys and a marine jumping out and grabbing one. The marine was about to give him a good beating with the stick the boy was carrying when I intervened. The soldier told me that some boys had just stoned an officer, riding up Calle Separación in a coach. He explained that the officer, who was armed, might have shot the boys, but refrained. The fact that this boy was carrying a stick was enough evidence for the marine, though the latter admitted that he had not seen the boy before. At my suggestion the exponent of the rights of powerful nations finally released the boy, with a shove in the neck and an aspersion on his parentage.

The "natives" in the interior fare much worse, I venture. I talked with a marine on the wharf one day and he told me about their "free-hand" when in the country. When the boys wanted any fruit or vegetables they took them. When they wanted a pig or a turkey they took it. Of course, they paid for the things when they could find the owner. Often they do not find him.

Not only is it the spirit of our Military Occupation, from officer down to private, to bully the Dominican, but it is also its apparent desire to play "dog-in-the-manger." One morning in Puerto Plata I found on the mole an exchange of words in progress between a marine and some Dominicans. A flat freight car, loaded with some projecting machinery, had come to a halt between a large army truck and an army Ford. The marine would not move his Ford without authorization from his commanding officer. Finally I suggested that he permit the Dominicans to move the Ford several inches over on the sidewalk. He assented in ill humor when the Dominican boss agreed to pay any damages. In one minute the car had been pushed by and the Ford placed back in the street.

About the first of December I went over to Barahona to visit the trade. There were restrictions on at the time, due to the small-pox epidemic in Haiti. I was permitted to land in the morning. When I purchased my ticket to Sánchez I had to present, and leave, a certificate of health I obtained from the Provost Marshal. After having lunch on board ship I was prevented from going to town again. The permit I had got that morning from the Dominican Sanidad didn't count—the "native" service was permitted to function just out of good-will, the marine assured me. The holding of a ticket was not sufficient. I had to get a permit from Captain M. Luckily for me Captain M. was on board, dining with some guests, men and women. I returned to the dining-saloon and waited. I waited for him to eat his meal. I waited for him to smoke his cigars. I waited for him to finish his discourses on fine liquors. He knew I was waiting for him to give me one minute and his magic signature. He knew I had business ashore, and he knew that commercial travelers did not wait over ten days for the next boat in order to work the village of Barahona. He knew that the boat was leaving that afternoon. I ask the reader how Dominicans fare when officers and gentlemen representing American power take pleasure in displaying to American travelers their pompous and petty authority?

In Puerto Plata I met a young captain just arrived from the United States. At noon he was panting like a fish out of water, and he kept assuring me that he was going to get drunk. His face was as chubby as his talk was silly. He told me several times that he was the ranking officer there and he could throw them all in jail if he wanted to. Having already spent several years in a Spanish-speaking country, he

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spoke Spanish, and to show it kept pronouncing loudly one of the coarsest words in the language. The presence of Dominican ladies did not interrupt the emphatic flow of his Spanish. At supper time he returned, drunk enough to enjoy saying monotonously, "I'm drunk; Christ, I'm drunk." Here was a fair sample of the superior American, just arrived, with superiority undimmed: and the Dominicans smiled quietly and sadly.

Two days later I arrived at the Hotel Alemán, Sánchez. There I found another sample of the official exponent of American superiority and fitness to rule weak nations. This captain was leaving, and was indulging in the apparently favorite pastime of American marine officers of getting drunk. It was indeed a pretty spectacle to sit smoking in old Hagan's dining-room vestibule and see this overgrown boy, an officer, get more and more bleary eyed, and sillier and sillier, until he could scarcely raise his eyelids and move his tongue.

Yet withal this mean, petty, and unintelligent spirit animating the military, Dominicans dare not protest too strongly, or they will get what Horacio Blanco Fombona got, and others before him. One week in November this young man published on the front page of his review, *Letras*, a photograph of a Dominican whose chest had been fearfully seared by American soldiers, using Belgian-Congo, or Prussian-Belgian, methods of eliciting information. All at once, the office of *Letras* was invaded by armed soldiers and closed up, and Mr. Fombona got free board and lodging in prison at Dominican expense. And lest anyone should enter the establishment of *Letras*, an armed sentry—armed with a high-power rifle—was sent to pace before it, night and day—at Dominican expense. Several weeks later Mr. Fombona was let out with a fine and a couple of weeks to clear out of the latest territorial acquisition of the United States of America. No one who ever talked with Fombona, as I did, would ever have considered this writer and poet anything but a sensitively patriotic gentleman.

The people who are now holding the reins in Santo Domingo through steel and gunpowder had better return to the United States. Law and order need to be maintained here in more extended regions where lynching bees are as regular as every fourth day. If they want to organize street-cleaning brigades there is more work, relatively, in New York than in Santo Domingo City. If they want to develop civic pride, Kensington, Philadelphia, will claim their attention for a decade. If they want to develop a good system of schools, let them go to Delaware, or to any State in the South. If they want to raise the standard of well-being of a Caribbean people, Porto Rico, our Porto Rico, cries out most pitifully. Infested with disease, beggary, and utter human degradation, despite the countless macadam roads, that island needs all the energy we have to spare. For twenty years we have been trying to Americanize that place, and if human happiness is a measure of our intentions, we can work there for fifty years with undivided energy before the poor classes are as happy, as well fed, as self-respecting as the poor classes of Santo Domingo.

New York, April 13 PHILIP DOUGLASS

Britain, America, Japan—and Yap

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The American note of April 6 to the Powers on the Yap mandate bases our right on the hoary axiom embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, that "to the victor belong the spoils," and tacitly commits the United States to the method of imperialism. Although we had "nothing to gain" from the war, we find ourselves at the peace as one of the victors jointly possessed not only of Yap, but also, by the same right, of the former German colonies in Africa, and of the Pacific islands south of the Equator. Our rights in these two latter groups we propose to yield to Great Britain gratis. But through Yap, unfortunately, we are bound to keep open a line of communication so long as we hold the Philippines or desire to cable to China. And this discrimination in our assertion of right offends Japan.

It is imperative for Americans to do a little straight thinking and to recognize the facts in this issue as they are. Japan is not to be blamed for taking Yap if she can get and keep it. She has learned her diplomacy from European statesmen, even as today she is learning her war-aeronautics from European bird-men.

The unofficial reports from London intimate that the reply of the British Government to the Hughes note will be to the effect that "this affair of Yap is now one for the United States and Japan to settle between them." If this view be officially confirmed as the British attitude, an American may well exclaim: "Exactly what we desire! But it is rather a pity you have come to this view of it so late! Who gave Yap to Japan and created this issue? When in 1916 by the Treaty of London British statesmen pledged Yap to Japan, were they entirely unmindful that the United States would of necessity by the first law of tactics be compelled to dispute Japan's title? Is there not, then, a certain complacency in their present assumption of the role of innocent bystander? Wasn't that treaty of 1916 of a piece with the traditional practice of British statecraft at its worst?" And an American of any moral fiber might even demand: "By what right came Yap in 1916 under the award of Great Britain, anyhow—unless by the assumed right of naval power? And is, then, this very naval power, which it is sought to justify as 'the great police force for maintaining open sea-ways for the commerce of all," to become itself the instrument for creating explosive issues between other peoples, maintaining itself by the policy *divide et impera?*"

In his "Outline of History," Vol. II, p. 550, Mr. Wells remarks critically of the conscious independence of the American people seen in their aversion to the League of Nations: "They had never been deeply stirred by the idea of a human community larger than their own." At least, it may be replied, no American statesman ever deliberately created for Great Britain an explosive issue with a friendly people, such as has been created for us at Yap. The difference in method may be due to a difference in aim—British statesmen looking to Mr. Wells's so-called Pax Britannica, where the American mind would be content with an ordinary peace.

Much has been said of late of "open diplomacy." Mr. Hughes's note now presents an issue with perfect clearness to anyone willing to see the facts. Those Americans who stand for reduction of naval armament are demanding that we seize the present occasion of enforced and recently expressed consent of Great Britain to cooperate to that end. They are right in mutual good faith. But as some ideas are in themselves more powerfully explosive than material armament, it would be well to remember that the idea, in 1916, of giving Yap to Japan is worth to British statesmen ten superdreadnoughts today, and will be worth twenty-five in 1927.

It is altogether probable that a firm and fair policy with Japan will be able to settle this dispute amicably, and reach a permanent understanding. The task will be easier to accomplish if our European friend of world-organizing predilection can be persuaded not again to reach a meddling hand across to the Pacific. The American people would be very wise now not to judge Japan too severely, but to place responsibility for the present dispute squarely where it belongs.

Haddonfield, N. J., April 15 JOSEPH W. PENNYPACKER

A Plan for Settling Industrial Disputes

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No subject of general interest is of greater importance just now than the question of how to substitute harmony for strife between employers and wage earners, the strife

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which has seriously checked production. The method of effecting this change advocated by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the National Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers deserves attention. Both employers and employees recognize and have agreed that (1) Strikes and lockouts are commercially disastrous to all concerned, including the public; (2) organized labor is here to stay; (3) contentment means efficiency; (4) it is better to work out industrial questions with labor leaders as consultants and as partners rather than as combatants, and as if the interests of employers and employees were not identical; (5) as every fair settlement is eventually decided by argument and logic, it is better for both sides to have arbitration before cessation of work rather than during or after a strike or lockout.

With these most vital tenets agreed upon, a strikeless industry is not only possible but is within sight, for the employers propose to abolish the lockout and the workmen the strike. Both have agreed even to disentangle themselves from sympathetic movements. The far-reaching importance of this cannot be overstated if it is realized what an enormous loss is annually caused by stoppage of work due to disagreements. Very large statistical figures could be given in support of this statement.

The machinery which brings this utopian method of harmonizing employers and employees is known as the Council on Industrial Relations for the Electrical Construction Industry. It consists of five members of the I. B. E. W. and five of the National Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers. Although it has been functioning scarcely a year, it has already settled ninety disputes without the loss of a day's work. Furthermore, the decisions have been received with a far greater degree of satisfaction by both sides than ever would have been possible by the old method of waiting until one side or the other—or both sides—had been worn out and exhausted.

Publicity and public opinion are the only agencies by which the Council proposes to win recognition of and compliance with its pronouncements. Abandoning the philosophy of power and struggle, it relies upon the theory that the public will think and act correctly when it has the facts.

The Council has adopted the following rules under which it will serve as conciliator in disputes: When a dispute arises which cannot be adjusted by the existing local machinery, and notice to that effect is received by the secretary of the Council, from either of the parties to the dispute, the secretary of the Council or the executive committee, after investigation, may, if circumstances warrant, request each side to submit the dispute to a board of conciliation to be composed of two representatives from each side, parties to the dispute, and one representative to be selected by the Council, who shall act as chairman but cast no vote.

The appointment of representatives by the parties to the dispute to act for them on the board of conciliation shall constitute a voluntary agreement between the parties to accept as an effective agreement between them the unanimous decision of the board of conciliation.

If the board of conciliation does not reach an agreement it shall make a finding of the material facts and state the reasons why it has been unable to reach an agreement. The chairman shall report such finding and statement to the Council and the Council shall determine the matters so submitted as arbitrator. If the Council reaches a unanimous agreement it shall report its decision back to the board of conciliation through its chairman, and the board shall then state the agreement between the parties to the dispute the same as if the board itself had reached a unanimous decision. If the Council shall fail to reach a unanimous decision it shall make majority and minority reports and transmit these to the chairman of the board of conciliation, who shall immediately publish them in order to inform the public of the material facts and the reasons why the Council has been unable to reach an agreement.

The success of this method has been so pronounced that it is planned to extend it to other trades. If and when it is taken up generally we may look to a strikeless condition in the building industry, and if this can be brought about the credit will be due to the electrical workers and their contracting employers.

New York, April 11 L.

The Tail Goes with the Hide

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Reasons and explanations for the existing economic depression, labor troubles, and crime waves have been many and varied. As yet I have not read one that placed the blame squarely where it belonged. All blame the war in a general way and let it go at that. We have these conditions for the simple and sufficient reason that we bought them. They were the figures in small type on the price tags of war which we failed to notice when we bought the thing. Now the bill is presented for payment, and, having bought, we must pay.

Waves of crime do not suddenly spring up of their own volition. Their cause lies in the fact that certain forces have been diverted from their normal channels, and the result cannot be avoided. While it is a trite saying that everything has its price, still it is a truth that will easily bear repetition since it is so generally overlooked. Money, viewed in its correct light, buys nothing at all. It is a mere symbol, a medium of exchange.

What, then, shall be said of the price of war? It cannot be estimated in billions of dollars, that was the smallest part of it. In order successfully to conduct the war it was necessary that we, first of all, learn to hate. Mankind would do very little hating if left to its own devices, for it is not an integral part of its makeup. So we proceeded to learn to hate. We taught some four million young men how to put that hate into action, taught them brutality in the most extreme forms we could conceive. We taught them to be oblivious to life, to use brutal force to accomplish all things. They are still using it, many of them, and we are amazed. Having started these forces in motion in a certain direction, we now stand aghast at the effects. We somehow imagined that we would be brutes only until the signing of the peace treaty. That done, they would, overnight, revert to peace-loving, property- and life-respecting citizens, or so we hoped.

Nor were those who remained at home immune from the influence of hate. Never was business in general so unscrupulous, so unmoral. We lived on a wave of unnatural excitement and extremes in every department of life. It was merely the same misdirected force exerting itself here as abroad.

We have a very uncertain control over the forces which we have discovered, and we can direct them only in a most general way. The engineer can only approximate the volume of earth and rock that will be dislodged by a stick of dynamite. We can fire a gun in almost any direction we desire, but the exact spot where the bullet will stop is a matter of conjecture. Is it not easier to unleash a ferocious animal than it is to catch it and tie it up again? So it is with war, the wave of hate, so easily put in motion by the declaration of war, cannot be brought into control in a moment by the mere signing of a treaty of peace. The force, once started, must spend itself whether we like it or not. With our President, we believed in force to the uttermost. We have it. But the gun, the knife, the repudiation of contracts, the expectation of enormous unearned millions, in short all forms of ruthlessness, are but poor standards by which to live.

The tail goes with the hide. Having danced, we must pay the fiddler. Perhaps in generations to come mankind will, with enlarged vision, learn to look for the small type on the price tag of war, and to reckon the price too high. Thus far, the universe has never been adjusted in such a way that something might be secured for nothing, and I feel safe in the prophecy that it never will.

San Francisco, April 11 Henrique Channing

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Sex

By ARTHUR GUITERMAN

Amœbas at the start
  Were not complex;
They tore themselves apart,
  And started Sex.

And Sex has thrilled the earth
  From then to this,
Producing grief and mirth
  And pain and bliss.

Through Sex the seedling wakes
  To cleave the ground;
'Tis really Sex that makes
  The world go round.

It sublimates the mind
  With noble themes,
Or sends it unrefined,
  Suggestive dreams.

'Tis Sex that rules the lives
  Of clowns and kings;
It gives us books and wives
  And other things—

Ambition, love and strife
  And all the ills
And ecstacies of life,
  And Freuds and Brills.

Books

Democracies and Democracy

Modern Democracies. By James Bryce. The Macmillan Company.

IN these two volumes Lord Bryce brings his unrivaled resources of political experience and reflection, historical erudition and travel, to bear upon a valuation of the working of modern democracy as it presents itself in a variety of selected instances. Although the countries chosen for full descriptive treatment are only six—France and Switzerland among the old European states, the United States and Canada among the newer states of the Western Hemisphere, Australia and New Zealand in the Southern Hemisphere—no close limits of time or space are set upon the range of Lord Bryce's information and reflection. In a word, we have here the largest, clearest, and best-informed attempt that has yet been made to bring together, for judgment and political guidance, the diverse experiments, among peoples of various types and under various physical and mental conditions, in the art of popular self-government.

Though Lord Bryce formally eschews all discussion of political philosophy and abstract doctrines as such, professing to deal exclusively, or mainly, with facts and their interpretation, the latter process brings in inevitably, and most fruitfully, innumerable issues of theoretical importance in political science. Nevertheless the staple of this great work is its full and orderly marshaling of facts, drawn chiefly from the six chosen examples, but reinforced in the interpretation by innumerable references to the history of other countries including that of his own, withdrawn here from full survey for a reason perhaps less valid in Lord Bryce's case than it would be in that of any other modern commentator, viz., the suspicion of partiality.

This detailed study of the operation of democracy in these several countries is preceded in Volume I by a discussion of general considerations in which the meaning of such terms as liberty and equality is discussed, and general estimates are given of the role played by party and tradition, education, religion, and the press in the life of modern democracies. The latter half of Volume II returns from the examination of particulars to a general comparative survey of democratic institutions in order to extract therefrom practical principles and estimates serviceable in the art of modern democratic statecraft.

Although American readers will naturally turn with special interest to the large section devoted to their own institutions (a new and independent study, not an epitome of "The American Commonwealth"), they will, I think, find no large change from the earlier interpretations and valuations of American government. The tendency to sacrifice liberty to equality, impatience of the slowness of legislative and judicial processes, excesses of party organization, the politics of the "pork barrel," the power of money to prevent administration or legislation or to corrupt the electorates, extravagance in administration—these and other charges against American democracy are once more submitted to the test. But they are examined in comparison with the institutions of other countries and with other forms of government. The general result of this comparative study is to explain rather than to extenuate the defects in the working of democracy in America and other countries. Certain special defects are noted in the American case, due partly to constitutional weaknesses, such as the separation of powers, partly to misapplication of electoral methods, responsible for the inferior honesty and competence of many State judiciaries. But the great troubles in the working of the American system are manifestly due to the rapid growth of wealth on the one hand, and the pace of foreign immigration on the other, putting temptations and strains upon democracy from which no system, democratic or other, could have escaped unscathed.

But while a very large part of this voluminous study is necessarily given to a citation and discussion of the defects and delinquencies of democracy as it appears in our time, the general judgment and outlook is not one of condemnation but of hope. Things are bad in many ways today, but the historic attitude shows them worse yesterday: democracy has its vices, but those of autocracy and oligarchy are more numerous and more incurable. Moreover, much of the trouble and misconduct of affairs is not inherent either in human nature or in democratic forms, but is attributable to the vast size of great modern nations and their congestion in huge amorphous cities. The most serviceable study on this point is of Switzerland, in which the substantial success of democracy is established beyond doubt. Indeed, it may be said that Switzerland is a perpetual feeder of democratic faith in Lord Bryce. For there he finds the best support of public opinion, honest, steady, and informed, the true will of a people operating through trusted institutions. The amount of attention given in these volumes to the methods of direct government, in particular the referendum and initiative, is very noteworthy. Unless the people can be educated to some real responsibility for important political decisions, it is doubtful whether any perfection of representative machinery can express the popular will. In the small communities of the Swiss cantons or even the Swiss Federation, the referendum and the initiative are found to work safely and with satisfactory results. It is also evident that Lord Bryce thinks well of the experiment of the referendum in some of the Western States of the American Union, but is doubtful of the use of the initiative. How far the federal method can be applied so as to break up the unwieldy empires of the old world, and so secure the healthy local atmosphere required for the play of vigorous popular opinion, is perhaps the greatest of all the distinctively political problems. On this I cannot forbear to quote the striking passage with which Lord Bryce

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concludes one of his most searching and valuable chapters.

"It was in small communities that democracy first arose; it was from them that the theories of its first literary prophets and apostles were derived; it is in them that the way in which the real will of the people tells upon the working of government can best be studied, because most of the questions which come before the people are within their own knowledge. The industrial and commercial forces which draw men together into large aggregations seem to forbid the hope that small governing units may reappear within any period to which we can look forward. Yet who can tell what may come to pass in the course of countless years? War and the fear of war were the chief causes which destroyed the small states. If the fear of war could be diminished, there might be some chance of their return."

In the final part of this work there constantly arises to the forefront of attention the great underlying question as to the reality of self-government in these larger nations styled democracies. How far is an intelligent popular will effective in any of these countries? How far is the executive government really responsible to the people? Lord Bryce comments keenly upon the various ways in which the Cabinet in Great Britain, the Legislature in France, or the party organization in the United States has arrogated to itself the real governing powers. In every great state the fixing of responsibility is a difficult process which enables the real control over public policy to pass to quite other hands than constitutional forms have intended, in America to the President or the Supreme Court or the party boss, in Britain to the inner Cabinet or the permanent heads of departments, in France to some brief-lived fascinating President or astute *bloc*-maker. But behind all these defects and difficulties in the inner working of the political machinery stand those problems connected with the formation and efficiency of public opinion and popular control. Lord Bryce has not ignored them in his interesting chapters on the Money Power and his discussion of the press and the practices of lobbying and electioneering.

"Of the six countries, the United States has been that in which money has been the most generally powerful during the last sixty years, France that in which it is probably most powerful now, while Canada comes next, Australia, New Zealand, and Switzerland being practically exempt, though, of course, a party or a group of men with ample funds for elections and able to run newspapers in its interests enjoys everywhere an advantage."

Many readers will, however, feel that such discussion of the direct political pressures of the Money Power does not deal adequately with the economic corruption of democracy. There is a curious passage in which Lord Bryce declares that "democracy—which is merely a form of government, not a consideration of the purposes to which government may be turned—has nothing to do with economic equality, which might exist under any form of government. Political equality can exist either along with or apart from equality in property." Now, while it is true that the scope of this work relieves the writer from any obligation to discuss concrete proposals for using government to alter the distribution of wealth or other economic conditions, the question how far sound democracy is compatible with oligarchic control of industry and wide divergencies of income cannot be so easily disposed of. The honest and effective working of democracy has very much to do with economic equality (as indeed Lord Bryce shows in his appreciation of Swiss democracy). It is not merely or mainly a matter of bribery, and lobbying and legislative pressures. The oligarchic government of industry makes it very difficult for working men and women "to call their souls their own," in the sense of possessing full liberty and opportunity to form, express, and give effect to that personally enlightened will which is the true unit in democracy. It was a great American conservative who said: "Give a man power over my subsistence and he has power over the whole of my moral being." There is no single organ of the democratic system whose fair and free working is not injured by the economic inequalities and disabilities which prevail in most great modern nations. The rejection of a despotic communism, as destructive of personal liberty and initiative, does not dispose of the demand for substantial economic equality as an essential of "the honest and effective working of democracy."

J. A. HOBSON

Andrew Carnegie

The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. Houghton Mifflin Company.

ANDREW CARNEGIE'S countrymen felt in his lifetime that $350,000,000 worth of power over them was more than any man ought to hold. Accordingly, except when they were asking him to found a library or to endow a college, they did what they could to keep him humble and to persuade him that no one envied him and that no one would bow an inch lower to him out of reverence for his fabulous wealth. This was, no doubt, sound democratic discipline. He himself must have applauded the spirit of it. "It was long," he says in commenting on his own radically democratic upbringing, "before I could trust myself to speak respectfully of any privileged class or person who had not distinguished himself in some good way and therefore earned the right to public respect." But he knew all the time, and his countrymen knew at heart, that adding up his stocks and bonds would not summarize his talents and virtues. His gifts made him appear the most magnificent philanthropist that the world had ever seen. And by qualities which remained with him after he had distributed his fortune, he was one of the most original, interesting, and representative men of his generation.

The Iron Master possessed intelligence of the first rank in its kind, an open and free spirit coupled with extraordinary firmness of character, indefatigable energy and initiative, and a "creative" benevolence, together with abundant humor, poetic sentiment, and deep feeling with regard to the things that matter. He was, in short, a personality. He appreciated, furthermore, the significant and picturesque aspects of his own career and savored its contrasts like a man of letters. When in his old age, at his retreat on the Scotch moors, he undertook at the insistence of his friends to compose his memoirs, he had the material, the perspective, and the mood for a book fit to stand on the shelf by Franklin's. Following his own precept and Franklin's example, he wrote out his recollections simply, modestly, blithely, like an old gentleman with a good conscience telling the story of his life to his friends and relatives.

The war diverted him from his work before the manuscript was in shape for publication. He wrote on the margin: "Whoever arranges these notes should be careful not to burden the public with too much. A man with a heart as well as a head should be chosen." Professor John C. Van Dyke was selected as an editor possessing both these qualifications. His task, which he says was little more than to arrange the matter in chronological sequence, he has performed unobtrusively—just a shade too unobtrusively. Carnegie had far more than the ordinary manufacturer's respect for literature, and he clearly hoped that his autobiography would be considered, in the stricter sense, as "literature." It contains, however, more instances of the "dangling participle" than perhaps ever before appeared in a single volume. There should be nothing sacred, to one charged with the editing of an unfinished manuscript, about Mr. Carnegie's dangling participles. Before the book goes into its second edition, these and such like easily corrigible slips should be silently amended. Then the really charming spirit which pervades it—I do not recall a harsh or ill-natured word from the beginning to the end of it—should make it a place in the best company, where it belongs.

Andrew Carnegie was born in 1835 at Dunfermline, Scot-

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land, son of a damask weaver who was ruined by the introduction of steam looms and who in 1848 borrowed twenty pounds to bring his family to America, where "Andy" made his "start in life" at the age of thirteen as a bobbin boy in a cotton factory at a dollar and twenty cents a week. A second-rate "self-made man" might have attributed his success to the change of environment and to his own industry. It is a characteristic and attractive trait in Carnegie, creditable to both his heart and his head, that he recognizes and handsomely acknowledges his obligations not merely to his employers and employees and partners but to a multitude of benign forces cooperating in his success.

Though he had, for example, but a few years of common schooling, he makes it clear that he received from various directions the incentives of an excellent education. He declares that he was fortunate in his ancestors and supremely fortunate in his birthplace. He is proud of a grandfather on one side who was familiarly known as "the professor," of a grandfather on the other side who was a friend of Cobbett, of an uncle who went to jail to vindicate the right of public assembly, of a father who was one of five weavers that founded the first library in Dunfermline, and of a mother capable of binding shoes to help support the family, in her morality an unconscious follower of Confucius, in her religion consciously a disciple of Channing. As for the town, it had the reputation of being the most radical in the kingdom: the stimulus of political and philosophic ideas was in the air; the editorials of the London *Times* were read from the pulpit; "the names of Hume, Cobden, and Bright were upon everyone's tongue." Dunfermline was radical but with a radicalism nourished on history and inclined to hero-worship; for, in the midst of her, abbey and ruined tower fired the young heart with remembrance of King Malcolm and Wallace and Bruce. "It is a tower of strength for a boy," says the old man, "to have a hero." The thought of Wallace made him face whatever he was afraid of, and remained "a real force in his life to the very end."

When the Carnegie family settled in America, their capital was brains, pluck, honesty, willingness to work, and loyalty to one another. The early stages in their pecuniary progress were marked first by payment of their debts, then by purchase of their first little house, and later by their first investment, in five shares of the Adams Express Company. "Andy" did not long remain a telegraph messenger, because he promptly developed his faculty for doing "something beyond the sphere of his duties," which attracted the attention of those over him. He picked up telegraphy while waiting for messages; he learned to receive by ear while others used the paper slip; he mastered the duties of a train-dispatching superintendent of division while sending the messages of his superior. When his chief's arrival at the office was delayed one morning and the division was in confusion, he assumed responsibility and sent out the orders in the superintendent's name, saying to himself, "death or Westminster Abbey." The union of special knowledge with courage which made "the little white-haired Scotch devil" a first-rate assistant at the age of eighteen, promoted him in six years to the superintendency of the Pittsburgh Division. "I was only twenty-four years old," he says, "but my model then was Lord John Russell." Two years later he was assistant director of telegraphs and military railroads for the Government. After the Civil War, by swift combinations of his forces and rapid marches into new fields, he established his position at the center of the industries on which the internal development of the country most directly depended. At the age of thirty-three he had an annual income of fifty thousand dollars; its subsequent expansion there is not space to recite.

The record of his early life shows a boy grounded by family discipline in self-respect, moral purity, and intellectual ambition. It indicates that the wide beneficence of his later years was not the mere after-thought and diversion of a satiated money-getter but the object toward which his efforts tended from the start. His first note to the press, written at the same period, was a plea to have a certain small library opened to working boys of his class. The 7,689 organs that he afterwards gave to churches and the 2,800 libraries that he founded were his acknowledgment to society for the impulse it had given him. He had worshiped a popular hero, Wallace, from the Dunfermline days; and the hero funds that he established throughout the world were tokens of his lifelong hero-worship. By the school of thought in which he was nourished, war among civilized nations was reckoned an obsolescent and absurd instrument of statecraft; his Palace of Peace commemorated the aspirations of a genuine friend of all the people.

In 1868 he had made a memorandum, indicating it as his intention to retire in two years and to "settle in Oxford and *get a thorough education*," and then to "take part in public affairs, especially those connected with education and improvement of the lower classes." Like another famous man of our time, he discovered that it is not easy for a leader in the fulness of his powers to retire—"he had come to the ring and now he must hop." But he continued his education and his educating, when he could, by reading Plato, Confucius, and Buddha, by traveling in various lands, and by earnestly advising and taking the advice of philosophers, presidents, kaisers, prime ministers, secretaries of state, and other experts. He acknowledged the impulse to intellectual growth that society had given him by gifts of buildings or endowment funds to five hundred educational institutions at home and abroad and by his great central foundation with its liberal charter for "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States."

Some of us criticized him because he did not give away his three hundred and fifty millions stealthily and secretly, as we slip a quarter into the collection box, God alone being aware of our munificence. But he knew that one of the most important of his benefactions was precisely the publicity with which he restored his vast accumulations to the people and put them at the service of the upward-striving members of society. It was for him to declare conspicuously and with magnificent and unmistakable emphasis what money is good for: to promote science and literature and music and peace and heroism. He owed the friendship, he tells us, of Earl Grey, who later became a trustee of the ten-million-dollar fund for the United Kingdom, to the publication in the *Times* of these sentences from his instructions to the trustees of his gifts to Dunfermline:

"To bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more 'of sweetness and light'; to give to them—especially the young—some charm, some happiness, some elevating conditions of life which residence elsewhere would have denied, that the child of my native town, looking back in after years, however far from home it may have roamed, will feel that simply by virtue of being such, life has been made happier and better. If this be the fruit of your labors, you will have succeeded; if not, you will have failed."

Large-scale beneficence—doing good to towns and entire classes of society and nations—establishes one as a member of a privileged order, which the average man regards with a certain uneasy envy. If Carnegie had not taken from us that $350,000,000, we might all and each have had the credit of contributing to the purchase of those organs, the foundation of those libraries, the establishment of those hero-funds, the building of that Palace of Peace, the pensioning of those employees, the endowment of those universities, that great fund for the advancement of knowledge.

True: we might have contributed. We might have taxed ourselves at that rate. We might have made similar investments in human progress. But we know pretty well that we wouldn't have done so. After we had taxed ourselves for the necessary upkeep and expansion of our army and navy, we should have felt too poor to bear an additional tax for such remote objects as the promotion of heroism or science. We should have felt that we owed it to ourselves and to our families to apportion our little "surplus" to our tobacco-fund, and our soft-drink

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fund, for the tranquilizing of our nerves and the alleviation of our thirst, or perhaps, if we were a notch above such sensual indulgence, to our fund for the collection of canceled postage-stamps. Our popular education is poor in incentives to large enterprise. Our unorganized good-will remains scattering and impotent—unutilized, like the by-products lost in the waste of old-fashioned manufacturing.

In the age of individualism which produced Andrew Carnegie, society had scarcely begun to "tap the resources" of collective effort for any genuine amelioration of common conditions. The people "perished" because they had no vision of powers united. In this present hour, clamoring for a high leadership which fails to appear, we average men may look back a little regretfully at our Carnegies, shrewd and level-headed in their means but whole-heartedly and aspiringly democratic in their ends, being fain to confess, we average men, that it is the pressure of the "hero's" exaction, the spur of high example, a vision not our own, a power not ourselves, that we must depend upon, if we are ever, in Pindar's great phrase, "to become what we are."

STUART P. SHERMAN

England's Critical Compass

Charles Baudelaire: A Critical Study. By Arthur Symons. E. P. Dutton and Company.
The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism. By T. S. Eliot. Alfred A. Knopf.
Instigations. By Ezra Pound. Boni and Liveright.
The Art of Letters. By Robert Lynd. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THESE four books, as far apart from one another as the points of the compass, represent four distinct kinds of literary criticism in England today. That the authors of the second and third are Americans does not at all make their criticism American; it was brewed in London and emanates expressly thence. For that matter, the author of the first was born in Wales and the author of the fourth in Ireland.

Mr. Symons's "Baudelaire" belongs to a critical kind that is probably dying. It represents impressionism without character, Paterism withered beyond seed. Mr. Symons has written some clear and beautiful books among his twenty-eight, but this is a hashish dream, a tired, irrelevant train of phrases. Baudelaire needed a good book in English, one that might match the several fascinating ones in French, and Mr. Symons, a passionate lifetime admirer, might have been expected to produce it; but Swinburne's elegy still must be called the most informing treatment of the subject in this language. Neither a biography nor an essay, Mr. Symons's book reads like scattered musings on Baudelaire, with more or less pertinent chapters on Poe and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam inserted without transition or explanation. That the grammar and syntax are bad throughout could be pardoned if the matter were fine. That the technique is sheer reverie could be forgotten if the movement had gusto or the visions could be traced. On some pages it is as if the writer had had to rouse himself from the deepest critical lethargy and whip himself by exclamation and desperate remark to the merest critical appetite. The work is weary, without a line of clean analysis anywhere, and without the power in any paragraph to prove that Baudelaire was one of the surest and most cruelly definite artists who ever lived. A crisp, six-page essay which Mr. Symons wrote concerning an edition of the letters in 1906 was a better "study" than this—as indeed Mr. Symons seems to recognize, since he draws upon it for his few good passages here.

If Mr. Eliot has read Mr. Symons's book he has been outraged, no doubt; for he is leading what might be termed the school of the younger responsibles, and he has set himself unalterably against impressionistic criticism. His "Sacred Wood" shelters the best essays and reviews that he has contributed to the *Athenaeum* and other periodicals during the past few years, and represents in a way the most conscientious critical effort now being made in England. Those knife-sharp faculties of his which year in and year out have been trimming and clipping poems from the devil's own brain have also been busy at criticism, which, Mr. Eliot insists, is not an art, or a hobby, or even a business, but an exact science. Above all it is not creation. The trouble with Mr. Symons as a critic, says Mr. Eliot, is that he is trying to produce something more than criticism and only producing something less than creation. The real creator—and it is a pity that in England, where critics are so few, so many creators must turn off into criticism—has no such difficulty when he discusses literature, since he has already satisfied his nature and is not the victim of a suppressed creative wish. Mr. Eliot is all for analysis, and for keeping the categories straight. He chastises emotion from the critical scene—the emotion which is concealed behind the abstract jargon of the pseudo-scientist no less than that which is displayed in the languorous synonyms of the impressionist—with the sobriety of an ascetic. His remedy for England's critical anemia is exercise in ideas, for which the teachers should be a Frenchman, Remy de Gourmont, and a Greek, Aristotle—two men at least who see straight. Mr. Babbitt and Mr. More in America, says Mr. Eliot, powerfully possess ideas, but their vision suffers from ethical refraction. The perfect critic will be as cold as steel and as free from color as plate glass. Eliot is not a perfect critic, because he does not write well enough in prose; but in the course of his essays on Tradition, Rhetoric, Euripides, Marlowe, Hamlet, and Ben Jonson he has drawn permanently valuable distinctions, and he has vindicated with rare intelligence the right, indeed the necessity, of the critic to think and to go on thinking.

One of Mr. Eliot's ideas, that poets improve themselves by learning to appreciate tradition, is also Mr. Pound's, who rambles for almost four hundred pages among his literary hates and loves of the past and present, conveying gossip, making comparisons, quoting at length, and damning by contrast, all for the purpose of instigating minds to read and have views on literature. He, too, insists upon France and Remy de Gourmont, upon definition, intelligence, and the efficient imagination. But he is not the orderly workman that Mr. Eliot is. His volume is a mess, if an agreeable and often erudite mess. A good deal of the material is reprinted from the *Little Review*, which has regularly served Mr. Pound as a notebook for his jotted opinions. The first section, called A Study of French Poets, little more than an anthology of modern French verse from Jules Laforgue to Jules Romains, can take its place alongside the work of Amy Lowell and F. S. Flint in the same domain. There are essays on Henry James and Remy de Gourmont, and there is a brilliant analysis of the poems of Mr. Eliot, whom Mr. Pound immensely admires in all things. He says a good word for James Joyce and Wyndham Lewis and passes on through a Provençal chapter to shapeless commentary on some English and Latin translations from the Greek. Mr. Pound believes in translation as few men believe in anything. Golding and Marlowe and Chapman are heroes on his horizon, and he is of the faith that poetry which cannot be translated to effect is inferior poetry. Hence an undying resentment of Milton—perhaps his only inexcusable heresy.

Mr. Symons languishes in Gallic decadence; Mr. Eliot and Mr. Pound energetically announce dogmas and import a Continental intellectualism; Mr. Lynd, caring nothing for France or the rest of the world, continues as the undefiled and healthy British critic, succeeding by his gusto and good sense in making the books live that he talks about but professing no definite or difficult principles. He ranges neither to Greece nor to Provence, but shuts himself up with the literature of his native islands and frankly, tremendously enjoys it. He is not thoughtful; after superb beginnings at the surface he fails to go deep; yet while the illusion lasts that we are in the presence of his authors it is a perfect illusion. It would be hard to match for shrewdness of epigram, rightness of epithet, and glitter of illustration the opening paragraphs of the essays on Walpole

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and Cowper, or perhaps of the Bunyan and Pepys. Mr. Lynd is at his richest when he can be a miniaturist of manners, when he walks among diminutive souls—Walpole, Cowper—whom he can see easily and casually around. The larger, disappearing spirits he does not pretend to follow. Here lies a large and shining body of literature, he seems to say, that will amuse the right kind of man a lifetime if he treats it generously—if he refrains, that is, from dogma and destruction. "The good critic," he concludes, "must in some way begin by accepting literature as it is." MARK VAN DOREN

The Physics in Metaphysics

THE same tendency toward concentration witnessed in the political and economic worlds is seen in stronger form in the world of ideas. Professor Hjelt says that chemistry is now physics; Professor Edwin P. Adams that physics is geometry; Bertrand Russell proves that mathematics are nothing but "symbolic logic." And finally the philosophers claim that the most recent developments of science prove what philosophy has taught all along, and that Einstein's chief glory is that he has at last succeeded in putting the physics in metaphysics, or vice versa.

The most brilliant exponent of relativity in its purely philosophical aspects is probably the German epistemologist E. Cassirer.[1] His reception of it is like a cry of joy approaching, at times, an "I told you so," in which the "I" stands for heaven-born Philosophy and not for his own person. Just as Kant found valuable data in the constant progress of science due to Galileo and to Newton, so, Cassirer claims, the modern metaphysician finds in relativity a new lease of life for his own a priori concept of the universe. Behind all the marvelous revelations of contemporary science lies the even greater miracle of mind that conceived it. In short, at bottom, the laws of science are but the laws of epistemology.

To grasp this truth we must begin by imagining a world in which as far as possible the anthropomorphic is excluded; a world in which there is neither passion nor sensation—no sight, taste, smell, touch, hearing, love, nor hatred. For the moment it seems as if nothing were left; as if we were in the position of Alice in Wonderland when Tweedledum told her she was a thing in the Red King's dream and that when he woke up she would go out bang like a candle. But, says Cassirer, this is not so; deducting all that we have deducted there would still be left a purely mathematical world in which the inhabitants would be figures, numbers, forces, masses, and movements. As far as thought goes, we are living in a gigantic equation; one compared to which Einstein's differential of ten terms is child's play. This world is never quite reached; for we cannot jump out of our skins or even—though some thinkers pretty nearly succeed—out of our heads. Physics, chemistry, and the rest of the sciences are always changing the qualities of felt and seen and heard nature into quantities; the empirically known existence into an exactly measured symbol. Thus much had always been evident to the philosopher; but it was only borne in on the scientist by the apparent failure of some natural forces to come into the universal mechanism. From purely physical grounds, based on the electrodynamic and optical phenomena discovered by Faraday and Maxwell, the scientist had felt the strong pressure of thought to turn him from the study of objects to the study of principles, i.e., of mathematics.

But, according to Cassirer, he might have learned all this at the very first had he heeded the warning voice of the philosopher. When Newton propounded his law of gravitation he assumed that absolute time and space were physical concepts, whereas, in reality, they were psychological concepts in which certain undemonstrated theories had unnoticed been mixed. Though the physicist found that he could, in practice, measure time and space only by an arbitrary, given standard, yet the standard he grasped seemed so natural that it was swallowed whole by the scientists who asked no questions of the premises which came to them laden with such valuable goods—hitherto lost, strayed, or stolen.

But the philosophers were not so simple-minded. Leibnitz promptly asked Newton to show him where he got the absolute time and space, as well as the "action at a distance" that he was spending so freely on his pet laws. When Newton replied, Leibnitz rejoined, completely demolishing the three fundamental axioms, or assumptions, on which Newton's laws rested. The great scientist, however, loved the laws so much, and found that they did such excellent practical work in moving the planets around just as they ought to go, that he continued to "get them up regardless" of what an impertinent philosopher might say.

But worse was yet to come. If Newton's three assumptions were killed by the cheerful Leibnitz, they were solemnly buried with decent rites by Bishop Berkeley, who showed that we could know no real absolute at all, not even absolute existence, but could only deal with the *relations* of phenomena. "There is no matter," shouted Berkeley. "No matter" echoed the dauntless three—Absolute Space, Absolute Time, and Action-at-a-Distance—and went on working. But though they seemed to have as many lives as cats, the philosophers continued to belabor them. Kant, starting as Newton's disciple, soon criticized his concepts of Time and Space, endeavoring to show that they were forms of thought, not things; that is, that they were relations without objective reality. But they kept turning up, as poor relations will, until Einstein and his fellows were forced to drop them even as working hypotheses in stating some of their formulas. The old problem of Achilles and the tortoise was perhaps the first battle between the scientist and metaphysician; the final surrender of the empiricist came when in 1905 Einstein published his "Zur Elektrodynamik bewegter Körper." He found that the only satisfactory description of the conservation of energy was reached when time and space were disregarded. Stating that a moving body never changes speed or direction except under influence from other bodies simply means that it always keeps still in reference to itself. All efforts to find any standard of motion, especially the effort to make ether that standard, have disastrously failed. Thus it is that Einstein has at last reconciled physics and metaphysics. But in doing so he has not destroyed philosophy, but built it up, for relativism leads to no solipsism, but to a new concept of valid reality. All problems of nature, said Goethe, are conflicts between perception and the power of thought. But now the very science that deals with things as perceived has been forced to flee to pure reason. The validity of the processes of thought has been demonstrated anew.

So much for Cassirer. Two English philosophers, H. Wildon Carr[2] and A. S. Eddington,[3] have been moved to somewhat similar reflections. Carr again emphasizes the fact that Einstein leads back to, or is derived from, Leibnitz's "monad-world," in that he is forced to assume that space is not an actuality but merely a mode of arranging perceptions. Eddington tries to conciliate scientists suspicious of theories of time and space by showing that these are physical as well as logical concepts. Relativity, according to him, is no more metaphysical than the atomic theory. But whether metaphysical or not it must be reckoned with by scientists. Take, for example, the treatment of light. A certain wave-length appears green; if we travel rapidly toward the source of light it turns blue, if away from it orange, and this illusion (if it be one) is shared by spectroscope, photo-electric cell, chlorophyl of plants, and everything that can be brought into any relation with the light at all. So it is with time, mass, force, energy, and all the other phenomena dealt with by physics: they vary according to the standpoint

[1] "Zur Einsteinschen Relativitätstheorie" (1920: Berlin: Bruno Cassirer) and Philosophische Probleme der Relativitätstheorie, in *Neue Rundschau*, December, 1920.

[2] "The General Principle of Relativity in its Philosophical and Historical Aspect" (1920: Macmillan).

[3] "Space, Time, and Gravitation" (1920: Cambridge University) and The Philosophical Aspect of Relativity, *Mind*, New Series, vol. 116 (1920).

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of the observer; and this is obviously the essence of relativity.

But though these laws are even more important to the experimenter than to the abstract thinker, they are, nevertheless, essentially laws of the mind. Many things, says Eddington, that we assume to be laws of matter are not objective but are automatically imposed on the mind in selecting what it considers substance. As an illustration of what he means he imagines a book-keeper who had no knowledge of the actual life of the institution for which he kept accounts, but whose experience was confined to the figures on the ledger before him. Would he not soon "discover" and hail as the law of the universe the observed fact that the credit and debit accounts always balanced? He would really know nothing about the life of the institution, not even about its financial condition, for it might be prospering or tottering to ruin; in either case the books would, from the nature of double-entry bookkeeping, balance.

W. D. Ross attacks relativity with the assertion that the postulates of absolute time and space are not merely prejudices of common sense, but are notions underlying all our thinking, and notably Einstein's. We could not conceive, he says, of relative space or time, did we not have an idea of absolute space and time. The word "relativity" itself has no meaning except as a contrast to "the absolute." Whether this is so or not, Mr. Ross is weak in answering the physical arguments as to the absence of observed motion as tested by the assumed ether. He explains it by saying that perhaps our earth is really at rest in the ether and that the sun, planets, and fixed stars all circulate around it. This, however, would put our earth in such a strangely unique position, and would cause so great a strain on our imaginations, that it cannot be accepted. The calculus of probability is weighted, almost infinitely, against it.[4]

F. A. Lindemann, while accepting relativity, seems to come perilously near the old absolute when he draws a distinction between convenient assumptions and true assumptions. It is a true assumption, he says, that the earth is round; a convenient assumption that it is crossed by lines of latitude and longitude. Einstein, he adds, has shown that time and space belong to the convenient, not to the true, category; that is, that they are coordinates personal to the observer.

Has it ever been noticed that relativity is a kind of pragmatism of science? Though not so stated, this idea is borne in on the reader of W. C. S. Schiller's recent discussion of The Meaning of Meaning. When we ask what is the meaning of a thing, what do we want to know about it? Really, we want to translate it into terms clearer to us, or referring to a more vital interest. Both these requirements are met by bringing the thing into some more personal relation with ourselves. As Professor Schiller puts it, in one of the most illuminating of sentences penned since death claimed his master, William James, "What if Meaning be neither an inherent property of objects nor a static 'relation' between objects at all, not even between the object and a subject, but essentially an *activity* or *attitude* taken up towards objects by a subject and energetically projected into them like α-particles until they, too, grow active and begin to radiate with meaning?"

PRESERVED SMITH

Books in Brief

CERTAIN trite theological dogmas remind one of the oyster in George Ade's fable, which made an honest but strenuous living by going from one church fare to another to form, in each, the basis for oyster soup. Were John W. Graham's "The Faith of a Quaker" (Cambridge) merely another decoction of the already well-cooked articles of faith, it might seem lacking in strength and flavor. But, in fact, the author has mingled so much sound and sweet sense with the old materials that he has produced a book inspiring and well worth reading not only by Quakers but by all Christians. The doctrine he presents in the first chapters he compares to that of Mr. Wells's "God the Invisible King," though he had written it before the war had produced that book. In Quakerism he sees the final step in the liberation of religion effected by the Reformation, the mystical wing of Puritanism. The fundamentals of the faith he finds not in the external ordinances, some of which, such as the rule against intermarriage of Quakers with others, he deplores, but in the cultivation of the inner light. After the dogmatic section comes an historical sketch of the founders, George Fox, Isaac Pennington, William Penn, and Barclay, whose "Apology" John Wesley called "that solemn trifle." Some sound economic ideas are found in Penn's writings, for he was one of the first to distinguish economically wasteful and economically remunerative expenditure. Mr. Graham concludes with some fine observations on social service and on war. To the eternal honor of the Friends be it said that they alone, of all Christian bodies, upheld the ideal of Christ in the Great War, and that they have done the most, in labors of love to our late enemies, to heal the wounds caused by that disastrous conflict.

CONSIDERING the nature and scantiness of the evidence, Professor Ivan M. Linforth's "Solon the Athenian" surprisingly and gratifyingly succeeds in the visualization of the individual, statesman, and poet Solon. We leave these pages with the hitherto remote and unreal figure of the Athenian lawgiver brought near and humanized, feeling that "we need not despair of knowing Solon in some sort even as he was"; and that his was "a noble career which is clear at least in its main outlines, and a personality of sterling worth . . . a high-minded, loyal, and unselfish supporter of the principle of political and economic freedom; . . . a frank, sincere, and unaffected artist, who instead of being a slave to his technique wielded it with supple dexterity." Mr. Linforth's book is severe in method and conclusion, the performance of a scholar. We note only that it was hardly the valley of the Peneus which was commanded by Crisa, that fragment XLIII is not given space in the translation. But Mr. Linforth's book is also a humanistic performance of the first order. The biographical essay is attractive in style as well as interesting in substance; the worst that could be said of it is that it betrays a slight tendency to diffuseness. Of the rendering of the fragments into English, one can speak only with enthusiasm.

"A HISTORY of the Art of Writing" by William A. Mason (Macmillan) is a popular account of man's most remarkable invention, the alphabet. With handsome illustrations and an exclamatory style the author traces the development of the mechanics of writing through the three important stages of pictograph, hieroglyph, and alphabet. His chapters on iconographs and ideographs among the North American Indians, the ancient Mexicans, the South Sea Islanders, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians, and the Hittites are admirable for their purpose, which is romantic, while his handling of the Phoenician-Greek-Roman alphabet is satisfactory and clear. Mr. Mason is not always accurate. "The skalds of Scandinavia," for instance (p. 20), were poets, not poems, and it is not true that inflections and conjugations come into a language late (p. 57).

MR. JOHN M. BERDAN has written a quarter of a million words on "Early Tudor Poetry: 1485-1547" (Macmillan). A zealous believer in the value of the historical approach to poetry, he has selected these sixty years as his field not because they produced good poetry but because they did not. For only among a tentative and abortive generation of writers, he says, can clearly be seen "the working of literary law"—which fact, one might observe, rather damages the case for the study of literary law. With apparently unlimited space at his disposal, Mr. Berdan has been able to quote at length from both the poets and the prose writers of his period, and he unquestionably has gathered a remarkable store of information. As an inter-

[4] This, as well as the two articles next quoted, are in *Mind*, 1920.

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preter of all this, however, he is prosaic and literal, and fails to establish the connections which happen to be most highly desired. In the chapter called Humanism, for instance, he has ably blocked in the philosophical background represented by More and Erasmus, and he has methodically described the poetical reflection of those men's light and learning which was Tottel's "Miscellany," but he has not employed imagination in making the influence of the one force upon the other interesting. The remaining five chapters, on The Background to the Literature, The Medieval Tradition, The Scholastic Tradition, The Influence of Contemporary Literatures, and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, are copious monographs not without considerable value for historians of literary law.

Drama

"Clair de Lune"

THIS moonlight is not the hard, sensuous radiance of Maupassant, nor is it, for all Michael Strange has borrowed incidents and names from "L'Homme qui rit" for her play (Empire Theater), the greenish romantic glare of Victor Hugo. It is the clair de lune of Verlaine, mild and mysterious over a land of sensitive and stricken souls—

> un paysage choisi
> Que vont charmant masques et bergamasques
> Jouant du luth et dansant et quasi
> Tristes sous leur déguisements fantasques.

It is that country of Pierrot lunaire into which the modern soul withdraws to speak shyly of its hidden maladies. To its making in the mind has gone the Watteau landscape of Pater where "the secular oaks will hardly outlast another generation," and the weary witticisms of Oscar Wilde, and an evocation of the rococo so strangely different from the thing itself. Perhaps Michael Strange has been reading not only Verlaine but has turned once more the pages of the *Yellow Book* and lingered over drawings by Aubrey Beardsley and faint, passionate, disillusioned verses by Arthur Symons and even remembered certain tales and illustrations of Howard Pyle. All these memories belong to the now remote nineties of the last century. But the imaginative convention that arises from them, though it is fragile, is not wilted. The "calm, sad, beautiful moonlight" still "makes the birds in the trees to dream"

> Et sangloter d'extase les jets d'eau,
> Les grands jets d'eau sveltes parmi les marbres.

If only Michael Strange's sense of style served her more steadily! There are bits of speech that tingle both in the heart and in the nerves; there are rich, strange images worthy of Yeats or Hofmannsthal; there are long stretches of sentimental and banal words. But the dialogue is here, in fact, only a part of the deliberate enchantment, even as the fable, absurd, grotesque but acceptable since it never competes with the real, is only a vehicle for the minor-keyed and lyrical passions of those who do not believe in happiness and are too sensitive for the sun. The queen is a lonely queen. The imperfections of humanity chill her at every passionate moment; the duchess wants to wound herself upon the thorns of life and is flung back upon a useless loveliness; the mountebank—himself but a symbol of the ache of the divided soul—leaps into the dark waters. He has not been true to himself. Had he a self to which he could be true? A disfigured face and a poet's mad, hurt soul. What could he do with the sharp intricacy of life?

Dialogue and fable blend with the seenes, those of the first two acts being after designs by John Barrymore. And these scenes are altogether magical. The masque in the queen's garden, the booth and the performance of the mountebanks—the shape and color and rhythms of these haunt one's dreams. The loveliness is morbid. But it has more active emotional atmosphere than anything else of its kind seen on our stage. Here the art of the theater does indeed rise into something like independence. For the scenic details—the dancing Indian slave, the masked mountebank, the eerie dwarfs, the cool formal gardens in the background—the queen who need not have spoken to tell us that she wanted no more memories—all have their own high emotional expressiveness and a value both in themselves and as elements in a composition. And when in the second act the duchess opens the door of her chamber and shows the terrace, the stars, the perfect fountain, we are aware without words of beauty that cloys, magic too steady not to weary the soul, and we feel all her yearning for harsh, bitter, unfamiliar things.

The play was undoubtedly written because John Barrymore saw himself as Gwymplane or, rather, saw Gwymplane in himself even as he has seen Falder and Gianino and Fédya and Richard III and, on a more obvious plane of symbolism, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Will he go on to Triboulet in "Le Roi s'amuse" and Hauptmann's leper prince in "Henry of Auë"? His work is lyrical first and representative only as by an afterthought. It is, like the novels and plays of the romantics, one long confession, one long cry of the heart. He rebels against the apparent dualism in the nature of man. He sees no harmony, serenity, synthesis, repose. The arrow of mortality is in his flesh. He pushes it deeper and deeper and bleeds in public to deaden the throb and hurt. The question whether he is a great actor is flat and uninteresting beside the spectacle of his personal genius, poetry, and pain. By his designs for the settings and costumes of this production he places himself in the front rank of our scenic artists. But he does not find calm in craftsmanship. The scenes, despite their restraint of color and simplicity of line, project an inner desolation and need.

Miss Ethel Barrymore is full of mellow graciousness in the part of the queen. There is a pathetic catch in her voice, a sudden half breaking of the voice followed by a smile that deprecates its own pain. Pictorially she is magnificent—splendid as alabaster, a passionate woman banished to the isolation of majesty. Miss Violet Kemble Cooper as the duchess has the central scene of the play. She carries it off brilliantly if with a little inner uncertainty of herself. Herbert Grimwood embodies with malign and stealthy grace the forces that will some day arise and dance the carmagnole through the alleys of these melancholy gardens.

We do not forget that the play has obvious imperfections and crudities. Yet what a profoundly civilized thing it is in temper, intention, literary and spiritual background, and with what memorable charm it is set forth! The reviewers, however, who were on their knees before Miss Barrymore in the cheap claptrap of "Déclassée" and admired John Barrymore in "Peter Ibbetson," were cool, irritable, facetious. Perhaps their souls have never been on the edge of dark waters, beauty has never been a wound to them, the murmur of Verlaine's "Clair de Lune" has never sounded in their ears.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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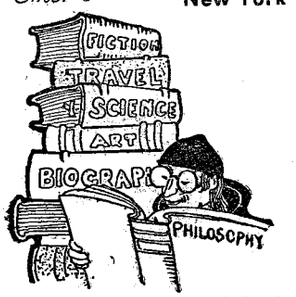

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International Relations Section

Economic Effects of the Paris Resolutions

ON March 1, Dr. Simons handed to the Allied Conference the following official memorial of the German Expert Commission composed of thirty-three prominent German financiers, economists, and industrialists. The memorial sets forth financial and economic arguments against compliance with the Paris program, but offers no alternative proposal.

Pursuant to the Paris resolutions the following demands are made by the Allies irrespective of the restitutions Germany is to make under Article 238 and of any other obligations under the treaty:

1. Within 42 years Germany is to pay 226 milliards of gold marks, viz., in

1921—22	2	milliards	of	gold	marks	annually
1923—25	3	"	"	"	"	"
1926—28	4	"	"	"	"	"
1929—31	5	"	"	"	"	"
1932—62	6	"	"	"	"	"

2. For 42 years Germany is to pay 12 per cent ad valorem of her exports in gold.

3. Germany is not to undertake any credit operation outside her own territory without the approval of the Reparation Commission.

4. In the case of non-fulfilment of the obligations stated under 1 and 2 the Reparation Commission reserves the right to attach the proceeds of the German customs and to take such other measures as it may deem appropriate.

An annuity of 6 milliards of gold marks would impose upon the German population an annual per capita charge of 100 gold marks or 1,000 paper marks. According to the statement prepared by the Allies' experts, the tax charges in Germany today amount to 599 paper marks as against 390 paper francs in France. An annuity of 6 milliards would increase these taxes to 1,599 paper marks even if no further charges are added. It is of importance, in this connection, not to lose sight of the fact that the most capable tax-payers' capacity has been quite materially impaired by the well-known taxes on capital (war profit-tax, emergency war-tax [*Reichsnotopfer*]).

The Bureau of the League of Nations estimates the average income in Germany at about 3,900 marks paper, as against about 3,200 francs in France. An additional charge of 1,000 marks paper would raise the proportion of charges in Germany to 41 per cent of the average income, as against 12.2 per cent in France, without taking into account the additional 12 per cent of the exports, but considering only the annuity. The balance remaining for living expenses would therefore be about 2,300 marks paper annually in Germany, 2,810 francs, i. e., about 11,800 marks paper in France.

Payments from country to country can be made: (1) by transfer of currency; (2) by transfer of credits, securities, and property; (3) by service and labor for foreign nations; (4) by loans; (5) by exports of merchandise.

1. Payment by transfer of German currency. So far as Germany is concerned, this mode of payment is eliminated by the fact that the creditor nations would be unable to utilize German currency to the extent required, and that, moreover, the German currency, if so used, would keep depreciating through continued inflation. The larger the amounts paid in German currency the smaller would be the value of such payments.

2. The continued transfer of securities and property rights would result in the gradual transfer to Germany's creditors of all her means of production. In that case, however, these creditors would receive their income in German currency only; and more harm would be done because the energies of German labor employed for foreign interests are bound to slacken.

3. Germany is practically prevented from rendering services and doing work for the benefit of foreign nations, because, on the one hand, she is deprived of the means of such services (especially ships), and, on the other hand, she cannot send her workmen abroad to do work against the wishes of her creditors.

4. Foreign credits, now even more difficult to secure owing to the Paris resolutions, require a permanent debt service, which again leads to the problem of payments from one country to the other, and therefore results only in deferring and increasing these payments. Anyway, no success would attend the endeavor to obtain regular credits of the required size either from private individuals or from foreign governments.

5. There remains the export of goods as a means of payment. Excluded are, however, raw materials and goods indispensable for consumption at home, and also the means and tools of production, which have been created in the course of many years, and have already been largely reduced in number through the great clearing sale. The export of the former would result in unemployment and famine. Therefore, nothing but surplus production must be exported, i. e., the excess of production over irreducible inland consumption. Such payments as are now demanded can only be made after imports have been paid for from the surplus of a national household most carefully economizing in the matter of home consumption.

In view of the results of the first 6 months of the year 1920 the excess of imports for the whole year will have to be estimated at a minimum of 2.5 milliards gold marks.

The exchange balance is even more unfavorable, because it includes payments for interest and principal of debts contracted abroad, liabilities under the international clearing, all other payments to the Allies, and interest on foreign capital invested in Germany. The total of these regular annual payments exclusive of those for reparation is estimated at 1.5 milliards. To cover these amounts Germany will therefore have to transfer abroad 5 milliards gold marks annually at least.

Prior to any reparation, Germany will therefore first have to square her trade balance of 2.5 milliards gold marks; in addition she will then have to provide an excess of exports of 1.5 milliards gold marks, if an equilibrium is to be restored. The demands of the Allies are based on a balance of trade with an increasing annual surplus of from 2 to 6 milliards gold marks. The 12 per cent ad valorem involving an additional increasing charge of milliards in the course of time will further swell these figures.

Germany can improve her balance of trade by restricting imports. A most economic mode of living being prerequisite to the payment of reparations, the consumption of foreign luxuries, especially, can and must be restricted. In this way it may be possible to save a little over .75 milliards gold marks. It should be borne in mind, however, that as a consequence Germany would lose important sources of revenue, in fact the very sources the development of which has been repeatedly urged by the Allies' experts. Moreover, the interest of the Allied and neutral countries would be severely affected by such restrictions. If spirits, tropical fruits, flowers, coffee, tobacco, tea, and the like were to be excluded from German imports, then the countries dependent upon the exportation of such goods would have to suffer particularly, and their purchasing power would be weakened.

Should Germany decide to go a step further, and exclude manufactured goods also, as far as possible under the Treaty of Versailles, then the opposition of the exporting countries, just beginning to be felt now, would become irresistible.

But the worst of it is that the purchasing power of the

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world, severely affected as it is even at this time, would then be still further reduced.

It is impossible to effect any saving on food-stuffs. Even before the war the food situation in Germany required a considerable supply of foreign produce to cover the domestic deficiency. Since that time the German farmers have been forced to produce at the cost of a severe deterioration of their soil, buildings, and machinery, so that their productive capacity is now very much reduced. At the present time, after separation from the eastern and western provinces (Posnania, Western Prussia, Schleswig, Alsace-Lorraine) with a surplus production, Germany cannot produce more than 42 per cent of her normal requirements. In order to restore the normal pre-war standard of nourishment of the population, it will be necessary to import 11 milliards gold marks' worth of food, feed, and fertilizers. Under such conditions, of course, no surplus of goods for exportation could be produced. For a long time to come it will therefore not be possible to relieve the food restrictions to which the German people have been subjected for some years past, and which are menacing the very existence, both of the present and future generations in Germany, unless a way could be found to curb the prevailing and regrettable tendency of changing from intensive to extensive method of agriculture.

It is likewise impossible to economize in industrial products for inland consumption, as all machinery is worn out by overwork and urgently needs replacing and improvements. On the other hand, the inland consumption of the goods most urgently needed for clothing and equipment is reduced to the utmost. Fundamental renewal of implements and clothing material is an unavoidable necessity if merely for sanitary reasons.

The following statement shows the decline of per capita consumption by the German population of food and staple goods.

	1913	1920
Meat	52	about 20
Flour	125	83
Sugar	19.2	14.1
Cotton	7.2	2.3
Wool	2.2	1.0
Hard coal	2,370	1,770
Iron	253	100

The balance of trade can therefore be but moderately improved by savings and restriction of imports; the only way to secure a larger measure of improvement is by increasing production and exports.

Agricultural production can be increased only very slowly, making it impossible to expect any material reduction of import requirements for the next few years. For the present, then, no excess exports can be supplied except by the German industries.

The German industries and the German export business have always been dependent on the importation of foreign raw materials. By the loss of territories this necessity will be further increased.

German experts estimate that about 60 per cent of any future increase of production should be set aside for imports, for enlargements of plant and facilities, and for feeding and sustaining additional labor required, leaving but 40 per cent from which to create an excess of exports. Other German experts arrive at much higher figures than 60 per cent.

In order to cover, from available surplus of exports, both the deficit of 4 milliards and the annuity of 6 milliards, the present export of 5 milliards would have to be raised by 25 milliards to about 30 milliards gold marks. The 12 per cent ad valorem of exports would necessitate a further increase of the excess of production by about 3.5 milliards. Total exports then would have to be raised by another 10 milliards, viz., to the dizzy height of 40 milliards gold marks. These performances are expected of an economic system intensely weakened by a disastrous and devastating war and the transfer abroad of 20 milliards gold marks' worth of property and productive capital.

German exports of 40 milliards gold marks would, however, be about twice the total exports of England in 1920 (i. e., 1,335.6 million pounds, equal to, say, 19 milliards gold marks in round figures, calculating the pound sterling at 15 gold marks). Such German figures would materially exceed even the United States of America's quite abnormally high export figures of 1920 (8,228 million dollars, or, say, 34.5 milliards gold marks). Largely consisting of manufactured goods, they would exceed the combined total exportation of manufactured goods by America and England.

Upon such figures only can the demands of the Allies be based. If they became realities, they would create conditions both in Germany and in the rest of the world, which cannot be even approximately appreciated.

Such an enormous increase of Germany's production for export would logically lead to a rapid rise of the prices of raw materials in the world's markets. Even today Germany's own means are insufficient to finance her imports. She would certainly be unable to increase these imports of raw materials to the enormous extent required, without calling on the international money markets, and the size of her requirements would be such that to satisfy them she would want all the credit available. There is no doubt that all other producing countries would keenly oppose such a concentration of raw materials, credits, and distributable goods.

For the treatment of raw materials a sufficient capacity of Germany's industries, a sufficient number of operatives, and a sufficiency of financial means are required. On the basis of the prices of 1913 the productive capacity of the German industries amounts to a little over 14 milliards gold marks today. Compared with the actual production of 1913 this figure shows a decrease of 11 per cent due to the loss of German territories and to insufficient provision for maintenance of plant. The German industry therefore would have to be placed on a broader and more modern basis.

Of the pre-war production about 8 milliards were sent abroad, and about the same amount, besides a large quantity of imported manufactured goods, was consumed at home.

Supposing that our present industrial capacity for export is 6 or even 8 milliards, it is easy to understand to what an extent our existing plant would have to be enlarged in order to produce export goods of the value of 40 milliards. It would obviously take a long time to attain such capacity. However, considering the extremely high cost of construction at present prices, the erection of new plants could in most cases not even be expected to yield a profit on the investment. No one would be prepared to build new factories of any size or enlarge existing ones. At all events, in order to increase productive capacity to the necessary extent, additional material, labor, and capital would first have to be sunk into the new enterprise for many years.

The Paris demands cannot be fulfilled, unless the supply of human labor is increased to an extent which can only be realized in decades. Increased numbers of laborers again involve increased consumption.

For the present, however, an alarming decline in efficiency as well as in numbers has taken place. The measure of work done by the underfed operatives has gone down.

Barring insignificant exceptions, the numerous foreign workmen, formerly employed by Germany, are no longer at her disposal, owing to the change of political conditions of the neighboring countries and to the present economical conditions in Germany. Germany's industries alone have lost approximately half a million of such men.

An extension of working hours therefore remains as a last resort. By international agreement the world's working day has been reduced to eight hours. In order to accomplish what is demanded of Germany the working hours of the German operative would have to be raised from eight to fourteen hours. But even then it would still be indispensable that, besides, all

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preliminary conditions as to capacity of plant, raw materials, markets, and capital were also fulfilled, and that the present efficiency of labor and technics [sic] could be maintained. Even in the early period of Europe's industrialization, which dealt rather harshly with human labor, such achievements would have been looked upon as unbearable and impractical. No country can demand such inhuman performance from the majority of its own people. It can never have been the Allies' intent to force Germany to make such demands, in violation of both the spirit and the text of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. High class special work is called for both by the organization of Germany's industries and by the necessity of increasing her output. Such special work can only be performed by healthy people, happy and willing to work, not by underfed slaves devoid of all hope. The introduction of such working conditions in any country of the world, not to speak of Germany, would mean a dangerous step backward in civilization, involving incalculable consequences for the population of the whole world.

Moreover, no fundamental change in this respect could be brought about anywhere, without the consent of the labor organizations of all civilized countries, having regard to the interdependence of working conditions in the various countries.

In order to force up Germany's output to the tremendous figures required, capital would be necessary to an extent which, at the present juncture, neither Germany herself nor the whole world could supply.

No issue of notes, however inflated, can produce real capital. Simultaneously with the crisis of consumption a crisis of capital is spreading over the whole world, the effects of which we, too, are beginning to feel.

Should our creditors, however, undertake to place the necessary capital at Germany's disposal during the next few years, then these annual payments would more than counterbalance all reparation demands.

Should it be possible to produce 40 milliards of German goods and to dump them on the markets of the world, which would be necessary in order to comply with the Paris resolutions, the result would be a complete change of the mercantile and industrial aspect of the world.

Germany would become the central workshop of the world; although operating under depressing conditions and at famine wages, her central shop would stretch out its tentacles to all markets of the world, aided by the boundless passion and tenacity of a people fighting for life and the whole force of its concentrated productive machinery.

The world market is smaller than is generally assumed. The combined export figures of all civilized nations do not amount to as much as 100 milliards gold marks. In the past Germany has supplied one-tenth of this total; according to the Allied scheme, she would be compelled to increase her share to 40 per cent and to oust a corresponding proportion of competitors' goods.

This could be done only against the powerful opposition of all nations concerned, and it would result in a general lowering of the prices of all goods to an extent rendering production unprofitable in all other countries. Whatever the market position, Germany would be forced to undersell her competitors; if she did not do so of her own accord, her currency would continue depreciating until the requisite quantity of goods is automatically forced out of the country and sold in the world's markets.

Germany does not wish to disturb the markets of the world by dumping. But forced exports result in dumping, and she is to be forced to export to an extent hitherto unknown. No human will-power can avail to suppress such exports sustained by a depreciating currency. Both industrial countries and nations exporting raw materials would take a stand against such dumping. The latter would be in a position to thwart the whole plan by refusing to supply Germany with the necessary raw materials or by supplying them only on conditions degrading to the existence of the German laborer.

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Germany's export would have to consist principally of finished products; only in that shape could she furnish such concentrated values as are required by both her productive organization and the magnitude of the demands imposed upon her. The market of finished goods, however, is more sensitive than any other market. The struggles going on here are the more violent, because the chief nations are loaded down with debts and because they are all anxious to transfer their internal indebtedness to the world's markets.

Even at this time there are numerous products for the consumption of the world in which the German export is absolutely preponderating, so as to render any further increase of Germany's share altogether impossible without destroying all foreign competition. Cutlery, toys, ordinary chinaware, chemicals, and dyes are among these products.

The crisis of consumption is not only caused by the dropping out of a large number of consuming territories involving a population of about 200 millions, but also by the weakening of the consuming classes even within the wealthiest nations. The purchasing power as a whole has shrunk to a level far below that of the end of last century. The tendency to save is in evidence everywhere; it is accompanied by a diminished ability to absorb products together with increased efforts to export. If these universal efforts to export goods meet in every corner of the world with the flood of German goods perforce seeking buyers, an embitterment in commercial intercourse must result, surpassing all struggles of competition in the past.

Thus, the impossibility of Germany's attaining export figures of 40 milliards becomes evident; the impossibility, in the existing economical state of the world, of making transfers of the magnitude required under the Paris proposals is a logical conclusion.

Reparation cannot be the problem of an individual economic system; it is the first problem of a system of a world economy to be newly created.

Germany is resolved to go to the limit of her capacity, in order to shoulder within that universal system the heaviest part of the burden, as she is bound to do. But freedom in her economical movements is an indispensable condition for the execution of her task. . . .

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Woman Suffrage in Mexico

THE following project for giving Mexican women the right to vote by expanding Articles 35 and 36 of the Federal Constitution was read in the Chamber of Deputies on December 24, 1920. The argument introducing the decree gives some notion of the present Mexican attitude toward women.

. . . It is up to the Socialist Party of Yucatan, which has freed the Indian and improved the condition of the worker, to liberate woman, who is more slave than the Indian, and to improve her condition, which is more wretched and miserable than that of the worker.

Married or unmarried, prostitute or respectable, the woman of today lives a parasitic life at the expense of man. The liberation of the woman of the future must begin by her economic liberation; she is beginning to compete with man in all spheres of activity; but this liberation must be completed, and all her rights, social as well as political, must be recognized.

Legalized prostitution is the greatest shame of modern society. The official prostitute is exploited by the keeper, by the man of her own type, by the doctor, and by the government. It does not seem possible that her exploitation should be the means of existence of so many people. Woman has just as much a right to free love and to experiment in search of her happiness as man. . . .

It would be difficult to find a more painful lot than that of the woman of the present day. Her fate vacillates between two torments: if she is poor—work, work of the heaviest kind, with all manner of suffering; degradation and vice, public shame, accepted and legalized, because it suits man's vices; if she is rich—jail, the jail of her own home, where her honor is guarded as if she were a bird which father and husband must cage up jealously, at the same time permitting themselves all kinds of freedom and indulgences.

A woman is not free until she is independent of man for her maintenance. Only when she has attained this freedom, will she be able to love, and be loved for love itself.

Man, in his mentally deranged egoism, has crippled the ideal by clipping its wings. . . .

"Woman, I claim you!"

Why have we come to this assembly if not to rectify the errors of past generations?

Let us put behind us the romantic politics of yesterday, the great wrong we have done by chaining up the womanhood of Mexico; and conscious of our duty, of our social mission, let us throw open to woman the gates of her economic, social, and political freedom; so that tomorrow, perhaps today, like Cornelia, mother of the Roman Gracchi, she can offer the country her potent strength, to show to everyone the path of justice and the way of duty.

Let us grant to woman the political right demanded by her life and interests, so that we may in justice speak to the child of civic rights and duties.

Let us not forget that the language and traditions of the home, including religious ideas, which have done so much harm to humanity, are instilled into the child by its mother, because she, like the Vestal Virgins, tends the fire of the domestic hearth in her suffering.

Civic education of mothers is today unknown in Mexico. It must be realized at all cost.

We have heroic mothers who weep at the tombs of their sons who have died for their duty, but we have not yet civic mothers who are the champions of the country and the educated and wise counselors of future generations.

If we want civic mothers, we can have them only by insuring the right of every Mexican, especially the woman in the home, to liberty and justice, granting to women active and passive rights in all public offices, in order not to interfere in any way with the restoration of liberty in a nation where unfortunately 80 per cent of the people are illiterate.

For the reasons given above, we propose to your sovereign consideration the following:

DECREE

Article 1. To Arts. 35 and 36 of the General Constitution of the Republic shall be added: The prerogatives acquired by all sections of Art. 35 and the obligations contained in Art. 36 shall include also Mexican married women of 18 years, and unmarried women of 21 years.

Signed by the Congressional Representatives,

FELIPE AND BENJAMIN CARRILLO PUERTO, MANUEL BERZUNZA, AND EDMUNDO G. CANTON.

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